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Contents

The Week 265

Editorials
- The High School and Democracy..... 268
- What the Conference May Accomplish..... 270
- British Protectionism and the Empire..... 271

General Articles
- Why the Farmer Sees Red.....Bruce Bliven 273
- Sea Death (Verse).....Joseph Auslander 275
- On a Mexican Lake (Verse)....Witter Bynner 275
- How Much Has Germany Paid?..... .....John Maynard Keynes 276
- The Dream of a New World.....H. G. Wells 278
- Lloyd George Out West.....Edward G. Lowry 281

The Death of Zeus.....Stark Young 282

Those Not Elect (Verse).....Léonie Adams 283

Correspondence 284

Books and Things.....P. L. 285

Reviews of Books
- Two New England Educators..... .....Robert Morss Lovett 286
- Jung as Psychologist.....John B. Watson 287
- Labyrinth .....Dorothea Brande 288
- Economics for Artists .....Stuart Chase 290

The Week

RARELY does a week pass with such a bewildering succession of important announcements about foreign affairs as have occurred during the seven days since the last issue of the New Republic went to press. First there came the speeches by General Smuts and ex-Ambassador Harvey which prophesied the calling of a conference by Great Britain and the acceptance of the invitation by the United States. Two days later the invitations were published and so was the impressive but cautious letter with which the Secretary of State accepted. The day after M. Poincaré also accepted and it looked for a moment as if a new and better era in international affairs had begun. But disillusionment quickly followed. The conference turned out to be merely an advisory committee to a Reparations Commission which was pledged in advance not to act on its recommendations unless they endorsed the previous treatment by France of Germany. This M. Poincaré confirmed when he subsequently declared that the acceptance by France of the invitation to share in the so-called conference did not indicate any departure from her previous policy. His speech at Sampigny was an announcement that the French government would refuse to continue the discussion if any of its associates were unrighteous enough to disagree with what it had already done. There for the present the matter rests. The conference has ceased to be a conference before it begins to confer.

IN the diplomatic duel between France and Great Britain that began with the speech of General Smuts, France is up to date clearly the victor. M. Poincaré has accepted the conference and so has avoided the isolation into which the British Foreign Office hoped to drive him, but by accepting it he has conceded nothing. He retains the freedom to do what he pleases with Germany in the name of law, justice and the eternal verities. He was able to escape the British attack successfully because the British plan, after it had paid the price of securing the adhesion of Mr. Hughes, was fatally weakened. The United States was not ready to participate in a full-fledged conference and France could join the advisory committee, which was all Mr. Hughes would or could accept, without giving up anything of importance. For reasons which we explain elsewhere, the conference may still serve a useful purpose, but it will serve a useful purpose only if it results in a sharp disagreement. There is no possibility of rescuing Germany and restoring Europe by conferring with a French government which will not evacuate the Ruhr until it collects an impossible claim. Any conference which France would join must undertake its job subject to the assumption that occupation of the Ruhr is, as M. Poincaré insists, a means of extorting reparations from Germany. Such an assumption is untrue and as long as the world accepts it, France will continue to triumph over her opponents.

IN a recent dispatch to the New York American M. Louis Loucheur, who is one of the leaders of the French "liberal" opponents of M. Poincaré, asserts it to be "impossible" for France to pay her debt to the United States. Under the plan

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of payment proposed by the American government it would cost France $200,000,000 a year for some years, and such a sum she cannot and will not pay. It makes no difference how much she collects from Germany. In no event will she consider herself able to compensate the American tax-payer for his contribution to the success of the French armies. The New Republic has a great deal of sympathy with much that M. Loucheur says. Although it would doubtless be physically possible for France to pay $200,000,000 a year, it would mean an economic sacrifice by the French people disproportionate to the sacrifice which we Americans made when we loaned the money. But if it is psychologically impossible for France to pay $200,000,000 a year to an external creditor, how is it possible for Germany after having disbursed about $6,000,000,000 to the victors to contribute an additional sum which at the lowest estimate must vary between two and one half and four times as much as France can possibly pay? M. Loucheur says that Germany must pay even though she cannot because it is a matter of "moral justice." It is this kind of argument, this underlying assumption that justice, wherever French interests are concerned, is independent of the limits imposed by physical and psychological quantities, which makes us wonder what has become of the French reason.

POINCARÉ'S note to London specifies that passive resistance in the Ruhr must be cleared up to the satisfaction of France before the expert commission can commence its work. Everyone knows what Poincaré now means by the clearing up of passive resistance. It means the resumption of deliveries in kind at the expense of the German government. It is not enough that the Ruhr miners should be willing to work, and that the German government should urge them to work. The German government must find the money for their wages and deliver their product gratis to the Allies. If it can't find the money, it can't stop passive resistance. The expert commission may as well twiddle its thumbs. For Germany is actually not in a position to find money enough to make deliveries in volume sufficient to satisfy Poincaré, who holds himself free to be dissatisfied with any deliveries that might be made.

THE Ku Klux Klan has at last come out into the open with a public statement of the doctrines which every one has long known that it cherishes. Before 75,000 of his hooded followers H. W. Evans, the Imperial Wizard, declared at Dallas last week that America must be kept safe from Jews, Catholics and Negroes because these three groups "cannot be assimilated" into the American stock. As to the two former, he explained, their religion makes it impossible. The Negro is unassimilable on account of mental inferiority and undesirable physical traits. This diagnosis was not accompanied by a program, and an anxious world is left in ignorance as to whether the Kluckers (as the West has nicknamed them) propose to kill off all Jews, Catholics and Negroes, or deport them, or merely disfranchise them, graciously allowing them to play a servile part as drawers of water and hewers of wood.

ONE does know, however, that Mr. Evans has the ignorance which properly fits him for his position. If he were well-informed on the biological facts about which he prattles so decisively, he would be aware that the most competent authorities are inclining toward the view that far too much has been made of the supposed differences in the hereditary mental equipment of the races of mankind and that such obvious discrepancies as appear between the average Alabama Negro and the average inhabitant of Vermont, are mainly due to environmental factors. However, the Imperial Wizard does not even need to know this much to be aware that miscegenation, however much we may deplore it, has been, and is, widespread. If he had any contact with reality he would also know that the Jews' "religious ceremonies, social customs and aversion to the Gentile," which he refers to as "inflexible as fate" are in fact nothing of the kind. The Jewish passion for education is destroying the hold of the orthodox Jewish religion on a large proportion of the rising generation, is wiping out most of the distinctive social customs, and is one of several factors which are bringing about an increasing amount of intermarriage with Gentiles. As for the Catholic "menace" it must be recorded that no manifestation by that church or any of its satellite organizations in this generation begins to compare in bigotry, violence and denial of liberty, with the work of the Ku Klux Klan during the past three years.

ONE must be very blind indeed not to recognize that the Ku Klux is now in politics up to the hilt. It has sent one man to the United States Senate, Earle B. Mayfield of Texas, in regard to whom a fight is promised which shall be at least as sensational as the Newberry affair. It has attained almost complete control of the machinery of government in Oklahoma. It is said to have been responsible for the defeat of Albert J. Beveridge as a senatorial candidate in Indiana last year. It is probably causing acute embarrassment to William G. McAdoo, who is often mentioned for the Democratic nomination and is supposed to be the favorite of the hooded organization, though his friends declare he is neither a member nor a sympathizer. If the Klan does not collapse in the near future because of its too rapid mushroom

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growth, it will presently have to make a decision as to whether it wants to be a political party or a secret terrorist organization, maintaining its own peculiar moral standards by its own peculiar methods in small towns. In the long run, it cannot be both.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE is said to favor the plan of having the government purchase wheat to be distributed as a charity among the Germans, of whom it is predicted that millions will be on the brink of starvation this winter. The scheme is intended, however, not so much to relieve the Germans as to stiffen the price of wheat at home and thereby relieve some of the active discontent among the farmers of the Northwest. If it is true that our aid is certain to be invoked to relieve German misery, it is of course better to buy the wheat now and help raise the price to the farmer, than to wait until the middleman is the only person to profit. Congress has a precedent in the $20,000,000 fund which was voted to relieve the Russian famine and which (with the $40,000,000 and more from other sources similarly applied) had a beneficial effect on the farm situation at that time. The President believes that a straight charitable donation is preferable to the alternate proposal of the western grain men, who want the War Finance Corporation to buy the wheat and resell to the German government or people, arranging the extremely long credits which would be necessary at best in such a case. Probably many people will agree with him.

THE application of wheat surpluses to the uses of international charity, of course, is no permanent solution of agrarian distress and discontent. We can't expect a famine to come along every year to relieve the farmer. But neither is there any reason for believing that the world has entered upon a prolonged era of agricultural overproduction. There are people enough to consume the surplus food, if only the statesmen would give them a chance to work and earn the price of it. Even if we assume that the chaos in Europe will not be cleared up for a decade, the depression in agriculture cannot last indefinitely. Our own population is increasing at the rate of nearly two million a year, and we have no virgin lands left to enable cheap food production to keep pace with it. In ten years or fifteen we shall without doubt hear more about the high cost of food than we shall of agrarian distress, if we permit transient crises of overproduction to ruin the farmer and drive his sons to the city.

FORMER SENATOR FRANK B. KELLOGG of Minnesota has been chosen as Harvey's successor at the Court of St. James's. Viewed politically, the selection is President Coolidge's most inept act since he took office, ranking even lower than his choice of Slemp for Secretary. Kellogg's only conspicuous qualification was his golfing friendship with President Harding; but since it would insult Mr. Coolidge's intelligence to suppose that this fact had any weight with him, it can only be deduced that he intended the appointment as a conciliatory compliment to the Middle West. If so, he has totally failed. Kellogg, despite his one-time record as a "trust-buster," is regarded in his own and all the nearby states as a hopeless reactionary. It was this belief which caused Henrik Shipstead, a St. Paul dentist, to win from him by a huge majority when he sought reelection. Senatorial courtesy to a former member of the upper house will probably insure confirmation; but Mr. Coolidge has done himself grave harm by picking Kellogg even when the country knows the Minnesotan was only third choice, Root and Lowden being invited first and in vain.

AS for Senator Kellogg's actual fitness for the post, there is little to be said. Colonel Harvey has proved that the country can get along with a thoroughly unfit representative in London; the Secretary of State has simply gone over his head, just as Ambassador Page went over the head of the secretary himself when the weakness was at the other end of the line. Indeed, almost anybody else will seem a refreshing novelty after the incorrigible George. At best, however, Mr. Coolidge is sending a mediocre gentleman to represent one of the two greatest powers at the capital of the other, at a critical moment in world history when the best brains in America would be none too good for the task in hand.

IT was a wise man who first drew up the scale, lies, damned lies and statistics. Julius Kruttschnitt of the Southern Pacific has given a World interviewer some statistics to prove that high railway charges have nothing to do with agricultural distress. The farmer, he tries to prove, would get only an 8 percent increase in the value of his products if the railways returned to him every cent they collect for hauling his goods. That "is a fact which can be proved by government statistics." The transportation revenue from agricultural products in 1922 was $715,973,000; the total value of farm crops was $8,961,000,000. Mr. Kruttschnitt thinks that with these figures given simple arithmetic will do the rest. It might if every bushel of wheat, corn, potatoes, every ton of hay, silage, mangels, and the rest were actually carried by the railway companies. The fact is that only a fraction of the crops is actually carried by the railways, and this fraction pays freights nearer 25 than 8 percent of its value. Twenty-five percent may not be an excessive charge, in view of the costs of transportation. That is no justifi-

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cation for making it over into 8 percent by the use of a statistical hocus pocus.

IT is a curious fact that the English proponents of a policy of inflation are not wild radicals or shallow demagogues, but respectable business men, bankers and captains of industry. England is staggering under the load of fixed charges. The burden of interest on the public debt, the maintenance of the unemployed, the payment of a rigid rate of wages, press severely upon business in this period of slack trade. Cheap money would offer a means of lightening the burden. The owners of consols and the recipients of unemployment doles would have no recourse if they were paid in money of reduced purchasing power, and even the wage earner would take a certain loss that came in the guise of a rising price level. Inflation, if not carried too far, would swell the stream of profits and give an appearance of "good times." It would stimulate exports and restore to a discouraged business public a sense of the commercial strength of the nation.

ESSENTIALLY inflation can only be a Little Englander policy. Englishmen who believe in England's future as the mighty head of a great empire, destined finally to speak with authority in world affairs, are grimly determined to weather the present emergency without recourse to expedients that must diminish the national prestige. The depreciation of sterling during the war and after its close was a shock from which British credit has not recovered too rapidly. It would be much more seriously impaired if inflation were permitted at this time, not out of necessity but as a stimulus to flagging business energies. The continental critics of England would shout gleefully that her system was beginning to crack, and the newer nations within the Empire would begin to ask themselves whether Old England was not done for. Other roads out of the morass of depression may seem longer, but on the other hand they undoubtedly offer better footing.

THERE is no foreign visitor whom America is more glad to welcome than Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the famous Arctic explorer who has eclipsed his brilliant reputation in that field by his humanitarian activities in recent years in Russia, Asia Minor and wherever war's aftermath has caused the greatest suffering. His present gravest concern is for the Greek refugees from Turkey and Eastern Thrace; and the necessity for his errand is underlined by the statement issued a few days ago by B. P. Salmon, American representative of the Greek Minister of Public Assistance. One hundred thousand refugees will starve this winter, says Mr. Salmon, unless given such aid as only America can manage. If the refugees are assisted in getting through the winter, they will participate in an agricultural settlement plan which makes it altogether likely that they will be able to take care of themselves permanently after the harvest next autumn. To an appeal under such circumstances, and especially from the lips of such a man as Dr. Nansen, there is but one response.

The High School and Democracy

THE discussion of the American high school in this issue of the New Republic serves as an answer to the case against the high school stated by President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in his report for 1922. Mr. Pritchett's point of departure was the cost of education in this country which grew from $140,000,000 in 1890 to over $1,000,000,000 in 1920, of which increase by far the larger portion was attributable to the high school. He lamented the tendency of the high school to lower its standards in order to receive and retain the intellectually unfit. "In no country in the world does so large a proportion of the energy of the teaching profession devote itself to the tedious task of lifting ill-prepared children and youths through courses of study from which they gain little or no good." He protested especially against the so-called "enrichment of the curriculum." "The high school curriculum of today reminds one of nothing so much as the extended bill of fare that one finds in a country hotel. Upon it are printed the names of all the dishes one could hope for in the most ambitious cuisine, and yet out of all these offerings one will find it difficult to secure a simple and wholesome meal."

He attacked especially the teaching of the technique of a trade or profession in high school under the name of vocational education. To quote him once more: "It is not too much to say that the vocational training offered in the high schools has so little of the sharp, accurate responsibility of the well-trained technician, and is so poorly related to the facts and circumstances of these vocations, that it is in great measure an educational farce." According to Mr. Pritchett vocational training should be given in trade schools, and in usurping the place of these, the high school becomes a cause of individual and social loss by receiving "great numbers of pupils whose intellectual endowment is ill-suited for formal study, but who have, in many cases, marked ability for other fields of activity."

To all this the present authors tacitly or formally take exception. They are united in regarding the high school as a vital part of our democracy —the democracy of opportunity. To them the great defect in the high school is its present failure to achieve its theoretically universal character. Professor Counts notes the fact that high school

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education is still largely confined to an upper class. Professor Works regrets its slow extension to the rural population. Professor Proctor opposes the separation of vocational and academic studies as impairing the educational scheme which pretends to prepare a person for complete living. Mr. Linville protests against the operation of selection and exclusion by the application of a rigid intellectual standard, and urges as a remedy for the "mortality" in high schools a curriculum which will give larger opportunities for individual adjustment. Finally Professor Judd holds that even in the face of the staggering cost of high school education in this country, it is unthinkable that such education should be curtailed.

It is true, a difference in tone may be discerned between the articles contributed by professors of education and those by teachers. While the former write with great confidence of the future of the high school, and the solution of its problems,—the adjustment of its curriculum to the demands of a great mass of pupils and the meeting of the vast expense which it entails—those who are in contact with the pupils in daily teaching and administration echo President Pritchett's doubts of the efficiency as a whole of the process of education in the high school. They recognize the evils of crowding, involving double shifts and part time, the lack of close direction leading to waste of time and effort through unadjusted choice of studies in the large and miscellaneous curricula offered for election, and the tendency on the part of the community and of pupils to take advantage of the looseness of administration and uncertainty of standards to make the high school a sort of kindergarten for adolescents. It would be unfair to represent these critics as pessimistic, yet it is clear that they feel that they are facing difficulties which will not be solved by the improved machinery which professional educators advocate, and with which they even express a certain impatience.

They would doubtless agree with the comment made by the New Republic last March on President Pritchett's report: "The present congestion and superficiality of instruction are the product of reaching out to discover, with little in the past to give any aid, just what studies and methods will reach the mass of the children as over against those of a group selected from the intellectual class." And yet they wonder how long the experiment of democracy must continue to involve individual and social waste and inefficiency.

Undoubtedly the high school at present is a product of the community which so generously supports it, the product of some of the best impulses and highest aspiration of that community. It is then fair to argue that any decided advance in the school will come through a change in the spirit of the community itself. The high school is an instrument of democracy. Its shortcomings are the result of shortcomings in our realization of democracy itself. As an expression of democracy of opportunity, the high school should afford youth the means of choosing, under experiment and guidance, the kind of life in which it can serve with most value to the community and satisfaction to itself. This field of choice should not be limited to so-called intellectual pursuits nor should any prejudice be exerted in their favor. Above all, the years of choice should be followed by years of more strenuous application of standards of workmanship, whether in intellectual or technical efforts.

Why is it that the overemphasis on cultural studies exists to the prejudice of mechanical and technical training, and why does the community resist the application of standards which rectify this disproportion? The reason is not far to seek. High school education is valued today not primarily for itself, but as the mark of a preferred class. That is why the American parent, to enable his children to obtain its advantages, is willing to submit to sacrifices which are often a tragic complement to the sacrifice which the community makes to provide them.

President Pritchett expresses pained surprise because "the American father or mother assumes that the child must be kept in the public school whether he can do the work or no." Of course the parent does. The child is not in school for the work but for the status. It is useless to talk to such a parent of "the well remunerated career of satisfaction and usefulness afforded by the trades." The father who enters his son in manual labor sees him condemned to an increasingly monotonous and mechanical existence, subject to social handicap, cut off from associations and experiences in their rarer and more delicate forms. More than this, the manual worker remains submerged in the mass, and in submergence in danger. If a boy has graduated from high school and is enlisted in the white collar brigade his work may be more monotonous than the mechanic's and less intelligent and useful, but he commands at least social tolerance. Within the limits of his resources he can enjoy life. He is treated with courtesy by his draft board and his plea for exemption is not regarded necessarily as a sign of disloyalty. If he is knocked down by an automobile his case is worthy of attention—he may be the son of a millionaire. If he is arrested, the police do not beat him up as a preliminary step to judicial inquiry, and unless he avows himself a communist or anarchist the judge stays imprisonment or deportation until his friends, who have the same standing in court as he has, can interfere. The graduate of a college has these same advantages in a higher degree; with his classmates he belongs to a group as powerful as free masonry. His head is above water, he can make himself heard. Indeed, it is worthy of remark that in the college,

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as in the high school, the most serious problem is the presence of the large number of students who regard the institution primarily from the point of view of social advantage.

It is clear that the chief derelictions of the high school are due to false standards of the community. The high school is the instrument of democracy in so far as it represents equal opportunity, but if that opportunity be merely to rise from an inferior class to a preferred one, then the conception of democracy itself is inadequate. True democracy would consist in raising classes to equality in common good. This change will not come until democracy is translated into industrial terms, until there is an increase of interest, of responsibility, of control, and consequently of recognition accruing to the men who work with their hands; until manual toil is not a social derogation or a handicap to living the good life; until the hand-worker shall have the same rights under the administration of law and the same protection against the insolence of office as a member of the more fortunate classes. That the high school should itself be a powerful engine in bringing industrial society to this equilibrium is the lesson preached and illustrated by Sanderson of Oundle. Those who seek to make the school an outwork of the defence of present privilege and prejudice are condemning it to suffer, in common with other institutions, the evils of a society in which healthy progress is impeded and thwarted by the vested interest in things as they are.

What the Conference May Accomplish

THERE is a general disposition in the American press to consider the conference about reparations which the British government has just arranged with the collaboration of the American State Department as a long step in the direction of a European settlement. This expectation is over-optimistic. Of course the conference ought to take place. President Coolidge's decision to send an official representative of the United States is significant of a new and better state of mind in this country and is highly encouraging. It is also significant that the French government, after having on previous occasions obstinately rejected the plan of an expert examination of any part of the question, should finally consent. But manifestly acceptance does not imply any reformation of attitude or policy on the part of France. Her government has acquiesced in the conference, not with any intention of altering its behavior towards Germany in conformity with the advice of a committee of experts, but in order to extricate itself with the least possible loss from what for a moment looked like an awkward predicament.

The aggressive diplomacy of a desperate British government had finally threatened M. Poincaré with this awkward predicament. Ever since the collapse of German passive resistance and the subsequent disclosure by M. Poincaré of the intention to convert the Rhineland and the Ruhr into an economic satellite of France, the British government has found itself confronted with a dilemma, either end of which looked unsatisfactory. It must obviously abandon the indecisive policy of the past ten months and either start a vigorous and effective offensive against France or else withdraw for the time being from the Continent and renounce all further responsibility for the impending disaster. If it adopted the first of these alternatives, it ran a grave risk of in the end drifting into war with France as the only way of escaping from a humiliating defeat. If it adopted the second, it consented at least for a while to the domination by France of the European Continent, and it confessed its failure to attain those humane international objects for which 900,000 Englishmen had only recently laid down their lives.

Being spirited men with an aggressive fighting psychology the British Cabinet decided for the first alternative—provided they could secure American assistance. Their plan was to call a conference for the purpose of considering the question of reparations, to invite the United States to participate, and, if the invitation were accepted, to use this promise of American cooperation as a means of either forcing France into the conference or, if she stayed out, of condemning her to a dangerous moral and political isolation. The proposed conference was, at bottom, a diplomatic expedient for depriving France of the free hand which she is now enjoying in her Rhine, Ruhr and reparations policy and substituting an effective measure of international control under British and American leadership.

The British government after sounding out the American State Department issued its invitation to the conference, and both the United States and France accepted with reservations. But the conference, as it emerges from the exchange of notes, is not the powerful diplomatic engine which the British government hoped and planned to forge. Mr. Hughes and M. Poincaré between them have whittled it down to an international commission of experts which will suggest to the Reparation Commission, not a revision of the total liability, but a sum which in its opinion Germany is able to pay from year to year. The report will consist of a pious opinion, which will almost certainly not be unanimous, which if it were unanimous would not be binding on any of the participating governments and which will not deal really with Germany's capacity to pay. The conference is more analogous in its functions to the advisory committee of bankers last year, whose recommendations the French government spurned, than

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it is to the international concert which the British Cabinet is trying to substitute for the existing French domination of the Continent.

The conference cannot discuss or report upon any of the legal, political and moral questions which as the result of the Ruhr occupation have come to form the real substance of the reparation problem. During its deliberations which necessarily will consume a great deal of time the French government will pursue its policy of separating the Rhineland and the Ruhr from the German Republic and reducing their industries and inhabitants to impotent subjection. By the time its report is presented the political annihilation of Germany and her social dissolution will have become more of an accomplished fact. The report, consequently, will at best be an anomalous document. It will declare that Germany is able to pay some billions of gold marks, but the political and economic organization which is to pay this sum may practically have ceased to exist. Neither is its resurrection possible, unless the financial doctors are allowed to prescribe not payments but nourishment, medicine, an abundance of light and air and a little just and kindly treatment. Otherwise the only commission which will have any pertinent report to submit about the German nation will be a coroner's jury.

If there is any truth in this analysis, the conference of experts cannot accomplish much without exceeding its instructions, and that no doubt is precisely what certain members of the conference will try to arrange. Germany's ability to pay depends chiefly upon the removal of one major obstacle. She may after a sufficient moratorium still be able to pay something, provided she keeps together and provided she is supplied with some motive to recuperate. But she certainly can and will pay nothing if the French government continues its policy of ruthless sabotage. Germany's ability to pay, that is, depends not upon the remaining material and moral resources of that unhappy country but upon her future treatment by France. The occupation of the Ruhr is not and never has been a means of obtaining reparations. It has been an exclusive substitute for them. And as the appeasement of Europe depends upon the payment of reparations, the Ruhr occupation was bound to bring disaster upon Germany, France and the rest of Europe. An honest conference of experts cannot ignore this obvious and profoundly relevant consideration. If it owes any obligation to the truth, some of its members will report that Germany cannot, will not and should not pay reparations, until the German nation or some international authority which the German people recognize, becomes master in Germany.

Of course the French and Belgian governments will fiercely dissent from any expression of opinion by part of the conference about the wisdom of the Ruhr occupation. If the British and American delegates oppose or refuse to endorse the French policy, the conference will split. The British and French governments cannot conceivably reach by negotiation an agreement about the relation between the Ruhr occupation and reparations. In the end either the British will find themselves forced to abandon their opposition to the establishment on the Rhine of an economic and political satellite of France or France will have to evacuate the Ruhr and seek in a stabilized Europe the security and prosperity which she cannot obtain by her present policy of ruthless national egotism.

Yet even though the conference end in a split, as it probably will, it may serve a useful purpose. It may form the beginning of a diplomatic cooperation between the United States and Great Britain in the task of setting up an international concert which will in the course of time curb France, rescue Germany, and work towards the creation of social stability, political order and necessary moral reconciliation. There seems to be no way of setting up such an authority save by Anglo-American cooperation, and there is no way of removing the existing obstacles in this country to cooperation between the two countries save by a small and comparatively non-committal beginning. At present American opinion with respect to Europe is either indifferent, pro-French or, if it is inclined to help, looks towards American adherence to the League of Nations as the best means of contributing to European appeasement. But American adherence to the League, even if it provided the best means of accomplishing the proposed end, would take years of agitation to accomplish. It is far more effective to move in the direction of diplomatic cooperation with Great Britain, which the President has the power to start, which can remain for the present provisional and non-committal and which can become closer and more effective just in proportion as public opinion awakes to its desirability and warms up to its increasing intimacy. That is what the conference may accomplish and that is why the New Republic is for it.

British Protectionism and the Empire

IT would not be difficult to interpret the protectionist spirit exhibited by Premier Baldwin and some of his followers as a passing political whim, no more deeply rooted in public opinion than the unsuccessful movement led by Joseph Chamberlain two decades ago. England is still a country which must live by trade, whose interest is most advanced by the freest possible movement of goods throughout the world. She is suffering from a prolonged

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unemployment crisis chiefly because the political chaos in Central and Eastern Europe has paralyzed trade. Germany and Russia will not buy more British goods because England protects her home market. Premier Baldwin has abundant reason to be sick of the "pottering with this question of unemployment." He has not so much reason for thinking that a protected home market would immediately cure it.

The forces making for protection in England are, however, much more complex and powerful than might be inferred from the Prime Minister's statement. They are more political than economic. The relation between Mr. Baldwin's fiscal ideas and the policy of France is obvious. British free trade is one of the premises of the Franco-Belgian reparations policy. Germany can pay the sums demanded by Belgium and France only through an immense expansion of industrial exports. France and Belgium do not want these exports. If any considerable part of them began to enter French or Belgian trade there is no doubt whatever that the customs barriers would be raised against them. Neither will the United States take them. England and India offer the best free markets for the goods to be extracted from Germany. Russia may in time take part of them, but only in exchange for wheat to be pressed upon the British market in competition with the wheat of the colonies. The adoption of a protectionist policy by England would therefore seriously reduce whatever chance there is that considerable sums may be collected from Germany. Moreover, if England once began on protection she might be expected to make a thorough job of it. The French wine grower and the Belgian industrialist would finally be given to understand what a free British market is really worth.

An elastic tariff policy might greatly strengthen British diplomacy on the Continent. What is immensely more important, it would make possible the knitting together of the Empire as an economic unit. The self-governing Dominions have already shown their interest in imperial economic unity through the granting of preferential rates on British goods. They have received little or nothing in return. In the circumstances preference could not be expected to go far. If England adopts protection, however, she can accord preferences on Canadian wheat and beef, on Australian wool and mutton, on African hides and wines and cotton that would be worth a decided increase in the colonial preferences for British goods. At present one-third of Britain's overseas trade is with her colonies. Since the British colonies contain the larger part of the undeveloped resources of the world, this proportion could be greatly increased. The empire as a whole could in two or three decades be made as nearly self-sufficient as the United States is today.

Let it be granted that in a world of peace and orderly economic relations, England would prosper best under her traditional policy of free trade. The European world of today is one of deeply ingrained disorder. British diplomacy has proved wholly ineffective in its endeavors to restore a condition favorable to economic recovery and the movement of trade. Any branch of trade opened with the Continent is highly speculative, at the present time, and there is nothing to indicate that the liquidation of European disorder can be achieved within many years. Would it not then be good policy for England to turn her back on the Continent, economically as well as politically, and by imperial preferences draw closer to her colonies?

There is, to be sure, the problem of Anglo-American relations. England can not afford to estrange America. The adoption of a protectionist policy, however, would not be regarded by America as a blow aimed at herself. It might even lead to closer association, through the negotiation of reciprocal concessions. We might conceivably arrive at something like a closed system of the English speaking nations, instead of simply a closed British imperial system. Each member of the group of nations would of course continue to protect its own industries against the other members. But the group as a whole would raise additional barriers against outsiders.

We are not presenting a closed system of the English speaking nations as the best solution of the international economic problem. A better solution would lie in a fairminded economic internationalism embracing the whole world. But if the blind hatreds of the nations of the European continent make a general international organization impossible, the only way by which Britain can make sure of stable economic conditions is through the cultivation of an English speaking internationalism. The English speaking nations are already a considerable world in themselves. They have half the wealth of the world and more than half its industrial power. They have one third of the world's white population. They can live unto themselves if they must, and wait upon the progress of history.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Why the Farmer Sees Red

SENATOR MAGNUS JOHNSON paid his first visit to Washington not long ago. The reporters made a holiday of him. They described his roar of a bull. They reproduced his Scandinavian accent. They told the world that he demands a home in the capital which shall have a garden, chickens and a cowbarn, in fact, shall be a little Minnesota farm along the Potomac.

Out in the small town in Iowa where I am writing this, we read all about it, in the day-old Chicago papers—read, and were not amused. It happened that I took supper that night with half a dozen of the community's solid citizens, connected in one way or another (as every one is, out here) with agriculture. Here is a consensus of what they had to say, put into my words, but with their thought fairly reflected:

> Why does the East think it amusing to insult the men whom the West has elected to high office? Magnus Johnson started with nothing and carved his own fortune; there was a time when such a record would not have been a theme for ridicule. Anyhow, whether the East likes it or not, Johnson and men like Johnson will keep on going to Congress. The West is next door to bankruptcy today. For that condition Wall Street and Washington are partly responsible. In the past we've sent you soft-voiced, pleasant-spoken gentlemen to tell you our grievances, and you wouldn't listen. Now we intend that you shall listen whether you want to or not.

So far as I can learn after talking with scores of farmers, bankers, merchants, government officials, travelling salesmen and others in a number of localities in the wheat and corn belt, these are the views which are today held by an overwhelming majority of the people of the Middle West. They grow out of the general economic situation—a situation the seriousness of which the East does not realize, in my judgment, even yet.

The farmers of the Middle West have been producing food since 1920 for practically nothing; and in many cases at an actual cash loss for the three years, even without counting their own time and labor and that of their families as being worth anything at all. As a result, they have come to the end of their rope. Thousands of men who owned their land subject to mortgage (as is the case with more than half of all Iowa farms), have lost it. Thousands more who were tenant farmers have seen their savings swept away and have gone through bankruptcy, being forced to begin again with nothing after spending their lives in hard and honest toil in the most essential of all industries. The standard of living has been reduced to the lowest possible point; the farmer who has bought a new suit of clothes in the past four years is a conspicuous exception. In many localities, nearly every man who knows how to do any other kind of work has left the farm, never to return if he can avoid it. Social standards in rural communities are going steadily down. Many a farm boy who in former years would have gone to the state agricultural college to learn scientific methods and return home to aid his father, or to start in with his bride on a nearby quarter section, is today studying for some other occupation; or if he learns scientific agriculture, his one ambition is to secure a salaried post somewhere as a state or county official.

The poverty of the farmers is reflected, of course, in the cities and towns. When the deflation process was at its height, a leading Iowa banker informed the officials of the Federal Reserve Bank at Chicago that if they insisted on having all loans called, as they had ordered, fully one half of the banks in that state, which is the richest agricultural territory in the country, would have to close their doors within a fortnight. The order was modified in some of its severity; but many banks did go under, and many more are still on the ragged edge today.

In the East there is a notion that the Middle Western farmer has been exploited for the benefit of the Middle Western money lender; and it is true that on the average during the last thirty years the financial man has done far better than the man who worked with his hands. But just now, they are all in it. I talked with bankers who are facing the common prospect of losing everything they have if present conditions continue another two years; I visited bankers' homes where the evidences of rigid economy reminded one of the old frugal days of the sod huts when the prairie was first being yoked. I doubt if there is a retail merchant in the corn or wheat belt who has not spent many anxious hours during the past four years planning how to keep afloat.

In New York it has been said repeatedly that the Middle West is the home of an inflationist movement; that the farmer wants cheap money, and that some of him want fiat currency. The former of these statements is partly true, for the farmer certainly wants somewhat cheaper money; but I could find virtually no supporters for the monetary ideas of Edison and Ford, for instance. I also found surprisingly small support for government price fixing on wheat, or for any other "paternalistic" measure.

Apparently, many of those who voted for Johnson and Shipstead in Minnesota, or for Brookhart in Iowa, did not do so because they believed in the ideas set forth by these men. So far as I could

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discover, the average farmer has little faith in any panacea.

He believes he ought to be allowed to pay his debts in dollars of the same purchasing power as those in which he incurred his obligation—and no one can deny that morally his argument is sound. But he does not seem to expect that he will get his way. He believes he is caught in a trap, that no one cares much what becomes of him, and broadly speaking, he doubts that his group is capable of acting together to aid itself. If you point out to him that restoration of peace and prosperity in Europe would aid him, he assents at once; but usually, he doesn't want the United States to join the League of Nations or interfere otherwise in European affairs, apparently because he is convinced that there is nothing we can really do until our late Allies and enemies undergo a change of heart.

The entire Middle West appears to be under a bitter sense of grievance against the government and particularly the Federal Reserve Board because of what happened after the war. Here is what they say:

> During the war the government told us to increase our acreage, to feed the soldiers overseas. When we protested that we could not finance such an effort, Washington told us: "Never mind, the money will be provided." Liberty Bonds were also forced upon us in amounts which were often far beyond our capacity to absorb. Many and many a man, under virtual coercion, borrowed money at his bank in order to accept a larger amount of bonds than he could pay for.
>
> Then what happened? After the war, Washington suddenly ordered all loans called in. We were in no position to pay, and they went ahead anyhow. The result was that thousands of us had to sell our Liberty Bonds at 80 cents or 85 cents on the dollar. These bonds went back to New York and the price immediately went up to par. If the government didn't help to rob us of 15 or 20 percent of our capital investment, will you kindly tell us what it did do?
>
> The same thing happened in regard to the additional land which the loyal farmers of the Middle West had bought virtually at the government's orders, with money which the government, indirectly, secured for them. The Federal Reserve Board put the screws on the banks, compelling them in turn to put the screws on the farmers. As a result, the latter lost their newly acquired land, and were very lucky if they didn't lose everything else they possessed in the world, in the bargain.
>
> We in the Middle West believe that the government is conniving, consciously or unconsciously, in a deliberate effort to pass the ownership of our farm lands into the hands of the big New York lending institutions. If the present situation continues much longer, this will be accomplished. Then we shall see these farms thrown into huge ranches of thousands of acres, operated by highly trained managers, directing large crews of underpaid workers, whose position will be little better than that of the serfs in the Middle Ages.

There are several notions prevalent in the East about the farm situation which the West denies with vehemence. It may be well to catalogue some of these.

1. *That the farmer's troubles are due to his operating with land bought at the absurdly high prices of 1918-19.* Universally, the West denies that this is true. Practically every man who bought land at high prices lost it long ago. If he were a "shoestring" operator, he has gone through bankruptcy. If he bought out of his savings, he has lost those savings.

I was repeatedly assured that in many localities, if a man had been given a farm free and clear in the spring of 1922, had farmed intelligently and successfully, without charging in one cent for capital investment or for the labor of himself or the members of his family, he would have lost money when he sold his crop in the fall. In Iowa, it is not unusual for an acre of land to carry a school tax of $2.50 or $3 a year, a general tax of $1.50 to $2 and a burden of $1 a year for general upkeep, drainage, insurance on buildings, etc. To this must be added at least $5 interest on the investment, or a $6 carrying charge on the mortgage. Only in rare cases has Iowa land since 1920 returned a gross profit of more than $10 an acre. The farmer, therefore, if he works his own property has all his labor for nothing and a net loss which he must pay out of his savings, of 50 cents to $1.50 or more per acre on his farm (which will average from 200 to 300 acres in size). If he owns the land but does not work it, he pays out $10.50 to $11.50 per acre and gets back $5 in cash, or a percentage share of the total crop which leaves him in about the same position.

2. *That the farmer is getting rich on the mere increase in the value of his land.* Some people in the East talk a good deal about "Iowa land which was bought for $1.25 an acre a generation ago and is worth $150 or $200 today." It is unfortunately the bitter truth that the farmers of the Middle West in the last three or four decades have received no compensation for their toil other than the increased value of their land due to the general increase in population in the Mississippi Valley; but it is absurd to say that the $1.25 an acre which was paid in 1880 has any relation to the present cost of the land. Taxes have been paid on it from year to year, not only on the tillable land but on every acre, good or bad (last year the actual farm tax payments in Iowa averaged $1.49 an acre). Drains and good roads have been installed. Money has been borrowed for improvements and interest paid on that money from year to year. There is actually an investment value of $100 or $125 an acre on that land even if it has never once changed hands.

3. *That the farmer's troubles are the result of sticking to one crop, refusing to diversify.* It is true that the one-crop farmer, raising wheat for instance, lives with his head in a noose. He does

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so usually, not because he is a born fool, but because wheat is a cash crop, and he must have cash; and because it is even easier for the middlemen to rob him of all profits on other crops and on livestock than it is on wheat. But granting this, diversification is not the solution of the farm problem. Times are about as hard on the highly diversified Iowa farms as they are in the wheat belt in Dakota. When the farmer sends corn to market, corn goes down and hogs go up. When he feeds his corn to hogs and sends them to market, the opposite happens.

4. *That everything is all right because prices on farm products are now better.* Things are better than a year ago, certainly, except for the wheat farmer; but it is not yet at all certain the farmer will "come out all right in the long run." In many cases, better times will merely mean that it is now worth while for the bank to foreclose, as it hasn't been for the past two years.

Above everything else it should be remembered that the "Chicago prices" on grain and livestock which you read in your paper are not necessarily the prices the farmer gets. As this is written, corn is listed at $1.10; but that means corn which the farmer sold at 40 to 55 cents. The new crop is December corn, and that is listed at present at 75 cents. Every farmer with whom I talked is profoundly convinced that when his new corn comes to market, the price will have been pushed away down. It is done, the farmers say, every year. It is done on every crop.

5. *That additional credits by the government will take care of the farm question.* This is about as nonsensical as anything could be. Certainly in the past the farmer has had to pay rates of interest far too high, and in many cases has had his farm taken away from him when he could have saved it if given just a little more time. But unlimited additional credit is a dangerous temptation, perhaps a real handicap, to a man whose business is running at a loss.

6. *That government legislation authorizing cooperative organizations for marketing will put the farmer on his feet.* It is probably true that in the long run, cooperation holds out better hope for the farmer than anything else. But he simply is not yet ready for it, and it would be the most tragic of mistakes to assume that he is, and to try to settle his problems on that basis. Cooperation is a thing of slow growth, especially on American soil. Cooperation which would have any real effect on the marketing of foodstuffs would need to spread over a very wide area and reach at least a large minority of the country's six million farmers. The more people know about the realities of the agricultural situation, the more appalled they are by the size of the task involved.

These comfortable theories of the East about the West are not to be dispelled in a day. Probably they will continue for a long time to come. Nevertheless, soon or late they must be abandoned and we must get down to realities. Either the farmer must be paid or he will stop producing and the country will have to stop eating, unless it can secure what it needs elsewhere. In the meantime, while the present status continues, the farmer will continue to "see red"; and to send men to Washington who represent that frame of mind.

BRUCE BLIVEN.

Sea Death

Where there is no end of the sea, earth looming
Slowly to dent, swiftly to disappear;
Where there is no end of the sea and the sea's booming
Bells reverberate in a liquid sphere
Profound and submarine and solemnly clear;

Where there is no end of the sea and the sea
Shoulders a shaggy furore with green recoil
Continually; and where continually
Cool skeletons in incessant release from toil
Slide sideways, released incessantly from soil—

There, as one comes accoutred in blue steel, pounding
A black basin at a black pavilion, so
I shall come shrouded in flesh for the seahawk sounding
His hoarse clarion: and then I shall know, I shall know
Those dappled floors where men and fishes go.

JOSEPH AUSLANDER.

On a Mexican Lake

If the Chinese had had this lake
When they were young,
What roofs they would have built for beauty's sake,
What songs they would have sung!

But age is such a miracle
Among the wise,
That China for Chapala shall compel
Celestial infancies.

These people too are deep and patient,
Knowing the tune;
And on the evening-lake they are quaintly stationed,
Sailing the full moon.

They sailed from Asia long ago;
Asian they came
To build the roofs and to sing the songs they know
By a later name.

And all the ways that seem so Spanish
Are a disguise,
Are but a hindrance on the limbs and vanish,
Leaving ancestral eyes.

WITTER BYNNER.

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How Much Has Germany Paid?

WITH the German government's formal announcement of its bankruptcy and the total cessation of all payments including deliveries in kind, the first phase of reparations during which Germany continuously paid large sums —probably up to the full limit of her capacity— has come to an end. It may be that no more will ever be paid. This is therefore an appropriate moment for reviewing and estimating her past performance.

The mind of the public has been extremely confused by the variety of estimates which have been current, varying from German official claims that she has already paid more than £2,200,000,000 to press headlines that she has paid nothing at all.

Apart from differences of opinion as to the estimation of particular items, there are two sets of figures which have been distinguished—namely, the total financial burden thrown on Germany by the Peace Treaty and the portion of this which counts under the terms of the Treaty towards the discharge of reparations. Certain sacrifices imposed on Germany are excluded altogether from the items counting towards reparations although they cost Germany just as dear as items which are not excluded, while the method prescribed by the Treaty for calculating, for the purposes of the reparation account, the value of certain other items undoubtedly yields a lower figure than their real cost to Germany. Thus the cost to Germany of what she has paid and delivered is much greater than the sum credited to her in the books of the Reparation Commission.

Now if we are considering what progress Germany has made towards meeting her Treaty liabilities, the latter figure alone is relevant, but if we are seeking the measure of effort needed to carry her burdens, or the punishment imposed on her, it is the former figure which matters.

Let us begin with the sums credited to her in the books of the Reparation Commission, which are indisputable and which represent the lowest estimate of her effort on any computation. These fall into three categories: Cash £95,000,000 gold; deliveries in kind £189,000,000; state property in ceded territories £127,000,000; total £411,000,000. Of these sums £19,600,000 was returned to Germany in the form of coal advances (under the Spa agreement). On the other hand, currency worth about £35,00,000 and goods and services worth at least a further £35,000,000 have been furnished to the armies of occupation and the commissions of control. Furthermore, the Reparation Commission has still to estimate and credit the value of state property in the ceded area of Upper Silesia, estimated by Germany, I think, at about £50,000,000. If we make adjustments for these various items, the total sum will be £511,000,000.

Let us allow next for the items reckoned in the reparation account below their real value. The largest and most indisputable of these is coal and coke. If the value of these deliveries had been calculated at their world market price instead of by the formula prescribed by the Treaty, it is estimated that £70,000,000 additional (or thereabouts) would have been credited. There are also several other important items in which there is a wide difference between the value placed on them by the German government and that assessed by the Reparation Commission as follows: The Saar mines, German valuation, £50,000,000, Reparation Commission valuation, £20,000,000; the mercantile marine, German valuation, £290,000,000, Reparation Commission, £35,000,000; ceded state property (not including Upper Silesia) German valuation, £275,000,000, Reparation Commission, £127,000,000; Armistice deliveries, German valuation, £175,000,000, Reparation Commission, £59,000,000; total German valuation, £790,000,000, Reparation Commission valuation, £241,000,000.

Thus the German valuation is more than three times that of the Reparation Commission. Part of this discrepancy can be explained, without imputing bad faith to either party, by the difference in the principles of valuation adopted. The German government naturally considers what the property is worth to the Germans and the Reparation Commission equally considers what it is worth to the Allies—which may be all the difference between a going concern and a bankrupt stock. It might be quite consistent with the terms of the Treaty to value some of the most essential parts of Germany's industrial equipment as scrap-iron, but this would not be a correct measure of the burden thrown upon Germany. Indeed, its tendency to impoverish whatever it touches and to convert organized equipment into rubbish is one of the characteristics—we can almost say one of the objects—of the Treaty of Versailles. Two items are, however, since they relate to known and definite objects, particularly striking—the Saar mines and the mercantile marine. The difference between the valuation per ton of output placed by the Reparation Commission on the Saar mines and that claimed by France for the destruction of her own mines, and the difference between the valuation per shipping ton placed on the German mercantile marine and that claimed for the destruction of Allied shipping are so wide as to seem obnoxious to justice. It should be added that the discrepancy in the shipping valuation partly depends upon whether the boom values current at the date of

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delivery are taken or slump values current at the date of valuation. It is instructive because it well illustrates the outrageous character of the reparation business to note that the valuation placed on the whole German mercantile marine is sufficient to pay interest on Germany's reparation liability as assessed by the same authority for a period of less than six weeks, while the surrender of the Saar mines pays the perpetually accruing interest bill for less than one month.

Since the German valuation has been built up item by item and offered for criticism and cross-examination, we may fairly assume, after allowing for all possible exaggerations, that a measure of the burden thrown on Germany by the deliveries is not less than half the figure claimed, that is to say, £395,000,000, as against £241,000,000 credited under the terms of the Treaty. No one, I think, could put the cost to Germany as distinct from the value to the Allies (which in some cases is less than nothing) at a lower figure than this.

Our table is then as follows: Credits with the Reparation Commission (less Spa coal advances), £391,000,000; cash and goods supplied to the armies of occupation, £70,000,000; ceded property in Upper Silesia, £50,000,000; addition for the world market price of coal, £70,000,000; addition for the real value to Germany of various surrenders, £154,000,000; total, £735,000,000. I think this can be regarded as a conservative estimate of the burden thrown on Germany under these heads.

We now come to certain items which under the terms of the Treaty do not count at all towards the reparation, but are none the less a charge on Germany. The most important are the following: 1. Sums owed to Germany by her former Allies; 2. German colonies and state property there situated; 3. state property in Alsace-Lorraine; 4. "restitutions" in replacement of specific Allied property removed by Germany from the invaded territory; 5. German ships seized in enemy ports; 6. German private property seized and liquidated abroad; 7. payments by Germany in discharge of private debts.

The face value of the first item is £85,000,000, but while it represents real loss to Germany its market value undoubtedly is nil. I know of no reliable estimate of items, two, three, four and five. On the basis of partial data I put these items, but without much confidence as to the accuracy of the figure, somewhere around £100,000,000 altogether.

Items six and seven are of different character. The proceeds have been applied to the discharge of German private debts and to this extent they represent not a net loss but the liquidation of liabilities. The net burden has been thrown on Germany only to the extent that the assets have not been applied to the discharge of the liabilities of her own Nationals—under the Treaty any surplus can be applied to discharge the private debts of Germany's former allies—or have been sequestrated and in part not applied (as in the United States), or have been sold at a price less than their value to their German owners as a going concern. Nevertheless, apart from this net burden, the fact that this amount of capital, previously lent to Germany, has been called in, thus diminishing her working capital abroad and her liquid reserves against emergencies, has clearly diminished her capacity to make foreign payments during the period since the Armistice almost as much as though it were a net loss. The figures are very large. The German government's estimate of the value of the property liquidated abroad is £585,000,000—Tardieu has estimated it a little higher, namely at £650,000,000—and the amount of cash payments under the clearing house system is £30,000,000. The estimate of the value of the property liquidated appears too high if it is intended to represent its present value, but is probably not too high as a measure of its pre-war value.

To sum up, I am of the opinion that the financial cost to Germany of her efforts to meet her Treaty liabilities and her obligation to surrender under the Treaty between the date of the Armistice and the date of the occupation of the Ruhr has exceeded a billion pounds, and if we include the sums she has had to find in this period to discharge private debts, the figure reaches £1,300,000,000. In order to reach an independent estimate I made this calculation before opening the valuable volume, Germany's Capacity to Pay, by Moulton and McGuire, lately published by the Institute of Economics of Washington, D. C. The corresponding estimate of these writers is £1,290,000,000 up to September 30, 1922, which almost agrees with my figure, allowing for the fact that I carry my calculations up to a later date. There are, however, some differences between us regarding one or two items, which make up the total. In addition to this, Germany's pre-war investments in Russia, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary and her war loans to her allies have been rendered valueless by the course of events and there has of course been an enormous loss of "good will" in her business connections and organization.

Allowing for the change in the value of money and for the relative wealth and population of France in 1871 and Germany in 1919, the figure of one billion pounds represents a real burden on Germany per head more than double that thrown on France by her payment of £200,000,000 after the Franco-German war. If we remember that Germany had fought the most exhausting war in history for four years and had lost in one way and another the bulk of her foreign assets, whereas France had her previous resources of foreign investments and the like almost intact, it is clear that the German effort to pay has represented

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enormously more than the equivalent of the French indemnity, as indeed we can easily judge after the event, by the comparative effects on the wealth and prosperity of the German people in 1923 and the French people in 1873.

In the face of these facts, the broad outlines of which are not open to dispute, it is an outrageous thing that certain sections of the press should be filled with charges that Germany has paid next to nothing, that she has evaded her liabilities and that by bluff and chicanery, she has cheated her creditors. These statements and suggestions are untrue.

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES.

London
(By cable.)

The Dream of a New World

Sanderson of Oundle, the War and Reconstruction

THE war turned Sanderson from a successful schoolmaster into an amateur statesman. Life had become intolerable for him unless he could interpret all its present disorders as the wreckage and confusion of the house-wreckers preparing the site for a far nobler and better building. He shows himself at times by no means certain that this would ever prove to be the case, but he had the brave man's assurance that with luck and courage there was nothing impossible in the hope that a more splendid human order might be built at last upon this troubled and distressful planet. But for that to happen every possible soul must be stirred, no latent will for order but must be roused and brought into active service. He had no belief in hopeless and irremediable vulgarity. People are mean, base, narrow, implacable, unforgiving, contentious, selfish, competitive, because they have still to see the creative light. Let that but shine upon them and seize them and they will come into their places in that creative treatment of life which ennobles the servant and enriches the giver, which is the true salvation of souls.

He became a propagandist. He felt he had now made good sufficiently in his school. He had established a claim as an able and successful man to go out to able men, to business men, to influential men of all sorts, and tell them the significance of this school of his, this hand-specimen, this assay sample, of what could be done with the world. He went to chambers of commerce, to rotary clubs, to civic assemblies, to luncheon gatherings of business men, to tell them of this idea of organization for service, instead of for profit and possession. He tried to find industrial magnates who would take up the methods of Oundle in productive organization. He corresponded extensively with such men as, for example, Lord Weir and Sir Alfred Yarrow and Lord Bledisloe. He wanted to see them doing for industrial and agricultural production what he had done for education, reconstructing it upon a basis of corporate service, aiming primarily at creative achievement, setting aside altogether competitive success or the amassing of private wealth as the ends of human activity. Surely they would see how much finer this new objective was, how much fuller and richer it must make their own lives!

When I tell of this search for a kindred spirit among ironmasters and great landlords and the like I am reminded of Confucius and his search for a duke in China or of Plato or Machiavelli looking for a prince. There is the same belief in the power of a leader and the need of a personal will; the same utter scepticism as to any automatic or crowd achievement of good order; once again the schoolmaster sets out to conquer the world. Perhaps some day that perennial attempt will come to fruition and the schoolmaster will then indeed conquer the world. Perhaps the seeds that Sanderson has sown will presently be germinating in a crop of masterful business men of a new creative type. Perhaps there are Sandersons yet to come, men of energy; each with his individual difference but all alight with the new conception of man's creative life. Perhaps Oundle may, after all, prove to be the egg of a new world. Oundle may relapse, probably will relapse, but other, more enduring Oundles may follow in other parts of the world. At present all that I can tell is of the message Sanderson was preaching during the last six years of his life.

Here is the gist of a discourse given to the Reconstruction Council in London:

> The object of this paper is to describe in practical working terms an organization of schools which shall be based on a close association with the manifold needs and labors of the community life. At the outset I may say that the proposals will refer—even if not specifically so stated—to all types of schools, from the elementary to the public schools. It will be seen that the change needs a change in the ideals which have usually prevailed in schools of the past. In the community life the one urgent thing to be done today is to reorganize industry and the conditions of labor. This reorganization may require quite organic or even anarchic changes—and for these changes the ideals of boys and girls must be changed, and to prepare for this change is the urgent work of the schools.
>
> Before I come to the proposals for reconstruction of

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schools, I will state very briefly some facts in industry which are now meeting with acceptance.

1. Modern industrial life has come in with a tumultuous rush, in a haphazard, ungoverned way, through the activities of forceful, capable, and industrious leaders who have made use of the scientific discoveries of another type of men.

2. The shrinkage of the world, and the growth of population which followed, has led to fierce competition; and this spirit of competition has ruled everywhere.

3. In the ungoverned rush for production all sorts of methods are adopted which seem to be justified by their effectiveness. An example is the modern system of efficiency, at first sight captivating to the intellect and the desires, but yet a method which needs very careful study.

4. Now men are beginning to believe that the first product of industry must be for the worker; that the worker should grow physically, intellectually, spiritually by his work.

I shall claim that the work in schools should be permeated by science and by the scientific method and outlook, and it will be found that science itself does not set all this store on efficiency. Efficiency, I believe, is entirely contained within the first, or quantitative law of thermo-dynamics. But eutrophy based on the more elusive qualitative law is concerned with the quality which leads to the giving up of life to others. We must see to it that whatever the efficacy may be, the eutrophy of industry be high.

The principle that the first product of industry must be the worker leads to great organic changes. It will lead to no less a thing than closing down certain productions, certain classes of occupations, certain industries or processes. It will lead to a modification in repetition work; and to adjustments in organization. I hope to show the bearing of this on our educational methods, and how the ideals implied may bring some help in diagnosing labor unrest.

It will be seen that most of the changes needed today depend upon international agreements, and a league of nations is essential, not, I think, to end wars, but to make the change from competition to cooperation possible.

We are concerned today with the part education must take in this change of ideals of life. It is not too much to say that without the influence of a reconstructed education the way to change in the ideals of men will be hard to find. The change has to be made from competitive methods and ideals to cooperative methods; from the spirit of dominance to creativeness; and the present system of aristocraticism in schools must give way to democratization.

Competition holds sway today in industrial life with disastrous results. Every employer of labor feels this, and wrestles, and would be glad of change, but he is held in the grip of system. Every one feels that competition destroys the creative, inventive life—and is the seat of unrest. And yet the spirit of competition holds sway, not in commerce only nor in diplomacy, but in the school. Our public schools are professedly schools for training a dominant class; the aims, the educational methods, the school subjects and their relative values, the books read, the life led—are all based on this spirit. The methods are largely competitive, possessive. With, as I believe, tragic results in industrial life this same system, with the ideals behind it, has been unwittingly impressed on the working class in the elementary schools. . . .

The change which I am advocating will demand a new organization, and will call for a new type of school buildings, and new values of subjects. The new-comer, science, and with it organized industry, which springs out of it, must take a prominent and inspiriting place in school, and in every part of school work. It is not sufficient to say that science should be taught in schools. The time has gone by for this. We claim that scientific thought should be the inspiring spirit in school life. Science is essentially creative and cooperative, its outlook is onwards towards change, it means searching for the truth, it demands research and experiment, and does not rest on authority. Under this new spirit all history, literature, art, and even languages should be rewritten.

A new type of school buildings and requirements will arise. No longer buildings comprised only of classrooms, but large and spacious workrooms. Classrooms are places where boys go to be taught. They are tool-sharpening rooms—necessary, but subsidiary. For research and cooperative creative work the larger halls are needed. Spacious engineering and woodworking shops, well supplied with all kinds of machine tools, a smithy, a foundry, a carpenter's shop, a drawing office—all carried on for manufacturing purposes. Plenty of work which will employ boys of all ages will be found to do.

There will be a corresponding spacious literary and historical workshop with a really spacious library full of books: books on modern subjects, as well as reference books. The building should have wings in it for foreign books—modern as well as classic, history, economics, literary, scientific. As many as possible of the foreign languages should be represented here, that boys may grow up with knowledge and sympathy and respect for other nations, and thus add in promoting wider and deeper ideals of life. Another gallery for geography, and natural history, travels, ethnology.

Here is full scope for a large number of boys of all ages to be engaged in research. It is all of a cooperative character. They can study the various social and economic systems—from copartnership to syndicalism; or the liberation of slaves; or the League of Nations; or the liberation of Italy.

Another block will be a science block with an engineering laboratory, machinery hall, physical, chemical, and biological laboratories—well supplied with apparatus and plant for applied science; plant, too, to lead to the investigations of the day; testing machine, ship tank, air tunnel; a miniature standardizing laboratory; and with this a botanical garden and an experimental farm.

Another would be an art-room, music-room, theatre, a home of industry for studying industrial development and industrial life.

This is not a utopian scheme, but one within possibility in town and country. To each large central high school should be associated groups of elementary schools, and there should be free highways between them, neither barred by examinations nor barred by expense. . . .

Another change must also come. Books on modern problems, strangely enough, are not yet read in schools. For example, the time is overdue for a change in the English books: Burke's Reflections and Pitt's War Speeches, or Addison, to Ruskin's Unto This Last and Time and Tide, or to Bernard Shaw, Wells, Galsworthy, and the modern poets. Some would go so far

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as to give Shakespeare a rest. It is astonishing how the newer books bearing on the large questions of the day, and bearing on the actual life of the boy, strike the imagination of boys—even quite young boys of the upper elementary school age. They stir up the faculties and appeal to a less used kind of imagination. It is surprising, too, what open and live views young boys will reach. And one thing the study of these books possesses, which I hope to dwell upon later, is that they bring the schools into close touch with the everyday life of their homes and of the community.

Creative education demands that schools should be brought into harmony with the community life, and should take part in the industrial and economic life. When boys and girls go home from school (even to the humblest home) the parents should find there is something their children have done at school which will help them in their work. This means that technical and vocational training should hold a prominent, and not a subsidiary place in the schools. It is not difficult to see that this kind of work contains within it the spirit and genius of science. We claim that education should be turned in this direction, with confidence and inspiration. The divorce of industrial life from the life of the spirit is one of the tragedies of the age. It produces calamitous results. A man's work may be of an impossible kind, it may be sordid and destructive of life—and the cure proposed is that he should have shorter hours and more pay. This leads to bad diagnosis of the cause of the labor difficulty, and prevents necessary reforms in the industries. . . .

Creativeness, the cooperative spirit and method, the vision, the experimental method of searching for the truth, form the unique gift science and industry have to give to the "New Education." Under the influence of this new outlook all other departments of knowledge must be restudied. Under its influence the life of school will become active, the workers self-reliant, love abounding. It will make good craftsmen and make the school of use in the community—whether in the manufacturing life or in the investigation of economic conditions. Incidentally it will give rise to a new body of men capable of going wholly or in part into teaching, and the school will be thus linked up with the life of the place.

It may be well to state that with an education of this kind based fundamentally on science a capable boy will leave a secondary school with a good knowledge of science and of its application, with a research attitude towards history and modern problems, and with a good working knowledge of two, or three, or even four languages. . . .

The study of social problems is seriously needed. Industries would then have a close connection with the boys and girls, and yet boys and girls would be free to follow the best of their own talents and inclinations—the industrial life would not be separated from the spiritual life; and we may hope that some part of this ideal would pass over into the workshops and factories; so that the laborer would learn to love his work better than his wage—for so indeed he would wish to do. And the faculties of the worker would grow. The method of the work would follow the method of the school, as it is doing more and more in our own land and in many a workshop. For the spirit is with these ideals; the practice difficult for any single firm to carry out. Hence is the need for radical change in schools. Firms are being driven to start trade schools of their own, when they would prefer the work to be done with all the wider scope of a school. And the same enlightened firms endeavor to "promote" their men.

And here we come to what is probably the natural source of all labor "unrest"—the unstretched faculties of the worker. Men there are in any great shops who have intellectual faculties of the highest order, and these faculties are not used, so the greatest possession a man has, and the greatest his country has—the "faculties" of its owners—is allowed to dissipate. And in the feeling of the mental want of equilibrium, in the slow frittering away of life, there arrives the turbulent spirit. The study of these questions is the problem for our coming international university. The industrial and economic problems involved can only be approached under international agreement. All that has been possible at present in the way of making industrial life pure and holy is by legislative restrictions, often enough rankling to the worker even when needed for his amelioration. Such legislation (factory acts, insurance acts, wages, hours) does not remove the source of the disease; at best it only mitigates the worst results. More drastic changes may be needed in the nature of the work—to the ruling out of certain manufacturing processes until new discoveries can be made.

So with the work in the shops. Men do not want wages, or shorter hours; these demands are only symptoms of a disease; short cuts to amelioration. They are doctoring. What men want is that their work may be such that they can love it, and want more of it. They do not want slaves' work in the shops and a "dose" of the spiritual life out of it. So we believe.

Parents, too, would let their children remain at school. As a class there is no one more unselfish and self-sacrificing and cooperative than the working-class parent. Boys want to leave school because of the natural urge for making something and getting to business—as they see it at home. To remain at school without joining in some work is unthinkable when they see the life their parents lead.

I may be permitted to insert one paragraph on the unfortunate opposition to this new position which is claimed for science in the schools. The opposition springs from the belief that vocational work is simply material having no spiritual outlook. But the truth is all the other way. Unfortunately the present studies of history, art, economy, literature, are biassed by "possessive" instincts and education, and we claim that science and its methods are seriously demanded for a new reading of these things. However, the opposition finds expression in high quarters. The Workers' Educational Union, acting in sympathy with the labor view—that vocational studies are to be avoided—practically taboos technical studies. This is reasonable as things are today, when a man's work is too often for the profit of others, and for this reason the workers are not in love with their work, and when the day is over they have seen plenty of it; so the best of them go elsewhere for the springs of the spiritual life. But this is all disastrous to individuals and disastrous to progress. What the workers should do is to watch for the spirit in their daily work, for it is the work itself which will hold a man to God—nothing else will.

H. G. Wells.

(To be continued)

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Lloyd George Out West

LLOYD GEORGE is one of the troubadours; a real trouper. He is as native and as much at ease in his new and strange environment as Bryan would be. As a campaigner, he has everything, as the ball players say. He is a born politician in any democracy. In this country he would have had the same career that he has had in England. He is a public man with a sure instinct for appeal to the populace. There is nothing private about him. For him in any democracy the Lupercal will always be thronged and the mob will throw its sweaty caps in air and proclaim his greatness.

With what L. G. has said in this country I have no present concern. He has said what seems to him most expedient and most effective. He is a master silver tongue, and as a reporter and observer of the species for many (too many) years I am interested in his procedure and his technique. After a brief contact and opportunity to watch him in action I am persuaded of two things.

First, that he knows every trick in the bag. The newspaper men who are traveling with him came to me and said: "This is like old times. This wise old hawk never overlooks a bet. You'd think he was running for something. He knows how to get a rise out of any kind of crowd and everywhere he goes he makes a hit. He's not a stranger or a foreigner to any of these people. He might be T. R. or Bryan. He's a barnstormer, right. He never grouches, he never gets fazed, he never slips up and he always puts over his stuff." That I found to be a true and accurate description.

The second point on which I am persuaded is that there must be something fundamentally alike in the political natures of Englishmen and Americans. Lloyd George has proved that they will eat out of the same dish. They make an identical response to an identical appeal. The methods and the technique that Lloyd George finds succesful here are presumably those he has employed so satisfactorily and for so long a time at home. It may be that he appeals to the histrionic sense and our love of drama, and that we go to hear him and to applaud just as we crowd the theatre for an Irving, a Salvini, a Duse, or a Bernhardt.

But let us get back to the provinces and take the record of his day in Minneapolis, where I chanced upon him.

"All my life I have longed to see the Mississippi," he told Governor Preus early in the morning. And he kept his hat off all the way across the bridge. He arrived at 7:15 A. M. and a waiting crowd stood patiently until he had got up and breakfasted and heard a speech of welcome in Welsh. "Take it from me, I am grateful to you all," he said in response, and the native locution captured the popular fancy. The crowd laughed and that was a good start. By nine o'clock he was gratifying his life-long yearning to see the Mississippi River. He was driven about to local points of interest and brought to his hotel, which was jammed to the doors. All day, every time he moved in or out, a way had to be cleared for him. People stood for hours to see him pass.

At ten o'clock he "received the press." That was a naïve performance. The great man was very much at his ease. One of the young men asked him how it felt to be the greatest man in the world. He said: "It makes one feel shy." The lady reporter from Des Moines asked if she might "snap" him, and then she asked for an autograph. "You ask so charmingly that I cannot refuse." He accepted a cigarette. "I like your American cigarettes of Virginia tobacco." He pronounced it "Ferginnia." Through it all he was suave and friendly and amusing.

When the pleasant little interlude was at an end he went upstairs to his bedroom to have his hair cut. The barber was English. "I have waited all me life for this job," and his tone was reverent and hushed. He took his work seriously and so did Lloyd George. "I only want a little taken off at the ends," he commanded and watched every stroke of the shears. There was a grave little conference over whether clippers should be used on his neck. It seemed to make a lot of difference to both of them. Later the barber gave a detailed account to a Hearst reporter of the whole proceeding. "In England," he said, "we would call it snitting." So now you know.

It was now half an hour before lunch and Lloyd George called for a pad of paper and stretched himself on a bed to compose his speech. But first, one noted, he carefully spread a rug over the foot of the bed so that his boots would not soil the clean white counterpane. That is a sure sign. Publicly and as a world figure he may be one of the soaring eagles, but privately and in the domestic precincts he is even as you and I and many another good man. That exhibition of solicitude for the counterpane was acquired in a strict school; it is not an inherent trait. A little thing, you may say, but revealing. The home life of Jove himself, for aught we know, was not unlike this. Man finds his true place is in the home; there is no doubt about it.

While Lloyd George lay on the bed with Dame Margaret at one door and a secretary at the other to see that he was not disturbed he composed this paragraph and later recited it before eight hundred of the beauty and chivalry of Minneapolis at lunch:

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"During the War whenever we wanted to know something about America they said to us: 'Well, it depends on the Middle West,' and if we said something they said: 'Hush, you must not say that, because the Middle West will hear it.' If we asked for something they said: 'You can't have it. The Middle West wants it.' So I was anxious to see what the Middle West was like."

That was flattering and true. It revealed one of the lessons England learned about us during the war. The eager lunchers were most pleased. And so it went for the remainder of the day, and the next day in Chicago with just enough change to make a fresh performance.

Lloyd George has all the characteristics we like to think of as typically American. Here he is a gay adventurer on the loose, playing chuck-a-luck with Fortune, skipping about making one-night stands on a strange continent. He has no job and very little money. He may get both through the resounding advertisement now being derived from his sojourn among us. All his life he has sought fame and reputation and public applause. He has the quality of being interesting to masses of people. He attracts crowds.

He is a little appalled and aghast at the schedule that has been made for him. He is afraid that he will break down under it aud cuts his engagements whenever he can. But, gosh, how he likes it all. He will go home an "authority on America," and leaving a vivid impression behind him. Incidentally and later on he will make some money out of his adventures among us, but that doesn't count for much with him. He sings along the wayside, and finds his happiness there. Just one of the troubadours. Take him as such.

People ask, why is he here? It's a foolish question. He is here because he's here. He is an artist "at liberty," at home. There is nothing doing there for him in the present muddled state of the world. Prima donnas and troubadours must keep in the public eye. It is a law of their nature, and puts porridge in their porridge bowl. They must sing for their sustenance.

In Britain the one great political aspiration of the moment is to effect a working arrangement of some sort with the United States. Their long-headed public men look at the plan as the one way now open to bring about peace and stability in the world. It is a sound idea and deserves more consideration than it has received here. If Lloyd George can further the project while among us it will help him at home. He has definitely in mind the ambition to become again Prime Minister of Britain. He is going at his goal his own way. He is sending up balloons here.

He knows very well what he is about.

Incidentally he is one of the very few of the great number of so distinguished foreigners who have come to these shores since the war who is not charging for the privilege of attending his festivals. He is not here to take money, though fairly overwhelmed with offers of fabulous sums for speeches and lectures. He is here to practice his art, and his art is politics. Politics as we play it and understand it, too. He is just one of us, but for the accident of birth. That is the disclosure I here put in the record.

EDWARD G. LOWRY.

The Death of Zeus

Oedipus Rex, translated by Gilbert Murray. Century Theatre, October 25, 1923.

A Woman of Paris, by Charles Chaplin. Lyric Theatre, October 15, 1923.

WHEN Sir John Martin-Harvey came from Oedipus' palace on to the scene I was already about to give up hope. The setting for Sophocles' play and the scheme of production are said to be, to some extent at least, related to Reinhardt, how much I have no way of knowing. I do know that in general the setting was without distinction and without much taste. The king's palace was a high, dark blue wall with four square pilasters running up, and in the midst a bronze door, rather flat and undramatic. In front of these walls was a platform, with a sort of central rostrum projecting forward, a good arrangement. Steps ran down on either side, and below them red hot altars stood and a bad green wreath. The stage was permanent and in the blue light upon it as you entered the theatre you saw the closed door, the red hot altars, and two guards with their shields. Doom was on the city. A crowd of persons rushed down the aisles and on to the palace steps, wailing and making postures, a device which might be good if brought to some significant design, but which, save only for a moment when the many arms were outstretched, was scarcely more impressive than the cry of fire in a Turkish bath. A messenger roared down the aisle, forcing his voice and spoiling his lines. At length Oedipus appeared. But if I had had any hopes they were shattered at the sight. Sir John Martin-Harvey stood there in a rather full, long skirt, and a high metal corselet with something like Empire sleeves about it, from which he held his white arms always outward, like a lady strapped too tight. He wore no beard, no Zeus-like beard, none of the ambrosial locks of heroes, but a slight royal fillet and clustering short hair above a delicate matinée face set sternly to its lofty classical task. Then began a series of false sounds, vowels impure, a voice forced into a volume far beyond it, and a recitation without sustained power or fluidity. The underlying metrical stress —even for the rather sighing lyrical lines of the translation—was lost; the sense stress was not achieved, so that the meaning was hard to follow. Oedipus forced his way to the end of what he had to say, the scene dissolved and the chorus entered.

The chorus in this production of Oedipus Rex consisted of ten or twelve men with crimpy beards and with cloths about their heads, and lines in general like bad statues of Roman matrons or monumental vestal virgins. Mr. Harvey Braban—who sang some of his lines well—as the leader of the chorus stood in the centre of the stage and directed the appropriate sentiments and gestures of his group; he wore a full skirt hanging down from a broad waistband, from which a v-necked section ran over the

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shoulders. To all this was added a thin, floating negligee. In this costume Mr. Braban moved like a very ripe contralto on the concert stage, and about him the bearded virgins swayed and postured with their staffs, a shocking, unimaginative, boarding-school effect that was quite incredible to see.

At length Jocasta came, and at first the vocal control that Miss Miriam Lewes brought on the stage and the mere fact that her lines seemed to mean something beside tragic exertion to her, seemed promising. Miss Lewes had too a fine yellow in her robe, an interesting headdress, and a handful of remembered positions from classical art, though these last when there was more dramatic necessity for them pretty much disappeared. Oedipus listened to Jocasta, in that great place where Sophocles drives on him the shadow of fate; Oedipus heard the story of his father and mother, the decree of the oracle, the fatal thread woven by the gods, Sir John Martin-Harvey making strange vowels the while, and bad rhythms, and now and again vocal effects that were more like shrill yawns than any cries of agony. Finally Jocasta, sick with the horror of the doom she saw, ran out. And at this the virgin ballet waggled their beards, shook their wands and seemed about to waltz; and the Old Man of the Mountain in the obesity gown led them on.

Persons unfamiliar with the play may have received here and there a stir from all this; the power of the story, the mere progress of events, might very well have carried people along. As for me I thought of Mounet Sully, that magnificent sustained tone, that noble and passionate art working within formal limits, that elaboration and simplification; and even of Annibale Ninchi in the Roman theatre at Fiesole, a second rank actor, but bringing to the part a gravity, a force, a classical simplicity and fatalism and eloquence that went further than his brain could ever have done with the truth of the play. And I thought, too, of A Woman of Paris at the Lyric Theatre, a moving picture written and directed by Mr. Charles Chaplin. A familiar story, dealing with an old series of events, a girl launched in Paris, the lover returning, the Bohemian life, and so on. The denouement of A Woman of Paris is inconsequent, true enough if you like, but one of a hundred ends that might have ensued. But up to these last scenes the picture is really stirring, and for this reason, a reason sought but not often found in art as we get it—it is stirring because in every place the essential is discovered and set down. They seem strangely essential, these flashes and moments; they are stirring because of their truth, the truth of each moment as distinguished from all other moments. And they are accomplished by means wholly within the medium, close-ups, faces, parts of people, sections of the event in sections of its scene, passages of half a minute, two minutes, ten minutes, things wholly impossible in any medium but that of the moving picture and so justifying the use of that medium to reveal them. Not a great drama, this Woman of Paris, but for these forward achievements of Mr. Chaplin's an exciting spot on the horizon.

In Oedipus Rex the place drew near where Oedipus comes again after he has dug out his eyes with the clasp of Jocasta's robe. At wind of this a group of maidens rushed from the palace door and arranging themselves in a line began to make delicate protestations of horror with their lovely arms, moving about in their semi-Tanagra dresses. Oedipus came in and leaning against a pilaster gave three odd, flat cries. The crowd ran off, with the sound of many bare feet on wood. Oedipus gasped and huddled against the palace wall, no longer heroic but somewhat hoarse from being so. If formal and nobly levelled treatment was needed in the first part of the play it was doubly needed now, in order to achieve the tragic elevation above mere bloody accident. All that gods work, Aeschylus said, is effortless and calm. Creon came again, somewhat better than at first; and Oedipus, driven into exile, made a last foolish climb down from the stage into the aisle and went groping toward the lobby, past the spectators, who could smell the very grease paint as he passed.

And then the lights are lowered and a shadow falls on the palace, which looks well at last, with those straight lines of the pilasters going up. In the blue darkness the pilasters are beautiful and clear.

One wonders then why at least these columns did not teach the producers that the whole of Sophocles' play is a line, splendidly held, modulated with superb emotion, balanced and ordered with due cause and effect, driven with the pressure of a fatal and splendid truth. One wonders how from this affair at the Century the reader unfamiliar with the play is to know—though he may prefer Euripides' Bacchae, for its poetry and Dionysian thought, or Hamlet for its variation and its universal introspection and its charm, or Macbeth for its unforgettable myth and doom and primitive shock—that compared to Oedipus Rex, there is no play whose art is so taken out of the depth and not the tumult of the soul; no play so steady and perfect in its progression; no play that has so inevitably found its pattern, its story, idea and form together; and no play that contrives to mount and descend with such security, discovering for its climax the greatest image in all drama; in those blinded eyes with their bloody stains, that physical pain, that shudder and dread and shame of life in this world and in the next among the dead. There is an image that strikes into our very bodies themselves and makes the eternal idea involved not only philosophically but completely ours.

Nicarchus wrote an epigram: Marcus the doctor called yesterday on the marble Zeus; though marble, and though Zeus, his funeral is today.

STARK YOUNG.

Those Not Elect

Never being damned see Paradise;
The heart will sweeten at its look;
Nor hell was known, 'til Paradise
Our senses shook.

Never hear angels at laughter;
For how comports with grief to know
Wisdom in heaven bends to laughter, laughter,
Laughter upon woe?

Never fall dreaming on celestials,
Lest, bound in a ruinous place,
You turn to wander with celestials,
Down holy space.

Never taste that fruit with the soul,
Whereof the body may not eat,
Lest flesh at length lay waste the soul,
In its sick-heat.

LÉONIE ADAMS.

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CORRESPONDENCE

No Hope from Technical Progress

SIR: In his review of Hamilton and May's work on the Control of Wages, in the New Republic of September 19, Alvin Johnson tells us that the authors explain, with reference to the sources of wages, that if wages are increased "something may be taken away from the recipients of profits, interest, rent, but not much," and that "the real hope lies in technical progress." May I suggest what seems to me to make for confusion in the use of those terms?

Here we have "profits," "interest," and "rent," used in the narrow business-bookkeeping sense, which for so broad an economic inquiry as one involving the sources of increased "wages" seems hardly adequate. And this strikes me as true whether the term "wages" be used in the bookkeeping sense of "labor cost," or in the broad economic sense of man-power products. "Profits" also is a bookkeeping term. And "interest" and "rent" mean one thing to the bookkeeper and something much more comprehensive to economists of any but the commercial school. The particular point to which I ask attention is this confusing use, in economic inquiries, of the term "rent."

Does it mean real-estate rent, a periodical payment for land and improvements? To the bookkeeper it does, I suppose; but how can economic investigations be made with terms that thus confuse periodical payments with capital value, and the values of natural resources with the values of artificial products?

To use the term "rent" in its bookkeeping sense is to take no account of its economic sense. The latter not only excludes incomes derived from use of natural resources but includes capital values arising from mere monopoly of natural resources, without use or with use as may happen. The numerous forms of such non-use are sufficiently illustrated by vacant building lots for which prices out of all proportion to real value are exacted even at a loss to the owners and with reference to which bookkeeping rents do not exist; and also by the building sites, both used and unused, in a city like New York, the site of which climbs in value—economic "rent"—while the values of buildings as steadily vanish. Bookkeeping "rent" might cut a small figure in relation to the bookkeeping item of "wages" or "labor cost," but monopoly of natural resources, economic rent, would certainly be greatly affected in value by an actual increase in economic "wages."

The real hope lies in technical progress! True we have had technical progress for at least a century without its raising "wages" in the sense of "labor cost" much above the living margin of the "lower classes." Yet it has lifted far above the sky-line the economic "rent" of natural resources, especially of building sites in living and laboring localities. If these values go up and on the whole stay up, as technical progress goes on, which is what they have everywhere done in the past and are doing now, how can there be any convincing reason for hope of high wages from technical progress? LOUIS F. POST.

Washington, D. C.

Not a Factory for Robots

SIR: In your issue of October 24 I find an implication in Mr. Littell's article on Henry Ford, which I do not think is in accordance with the facts. We all know that the subjection of man to the machine is bad enough at its very best but there isn't any need of creating an impression which is not in accordance with the facts. I refer to the paragraph which speaks of ". . . the fascinating and horrible spectacle which is the making of the Ford car. Every one knows about the travelling conveyors, which carry the cylinder block just a little too fast past groups of men struggling to insert into it their assigned part. The speed of these conveyors is not constant. If all the departments of the plant are working smoothly, and an increase in production is desired, their speed is slightly increased at the beginning of the day, unknown to the men, who at the end of the day are aware only of being a little more tired than usual."

I went through the Ford factory recently and tried to discover the elements in the situation which might determine the relation of the man to the machine, and except in one or two processes which did not affect more than one or two percent of the men did I find the thing which Mr. Littell describes. Ford has devised a plan of machine production which allows the great mass of his men to do their work without strict reference to the speed at which the conveyor moves. In almost every process except the actual assembling of the car, and only about two hundred men are employed on the assembling line, there is a certain degree of freedom to the man in performing his particular operation. For example, on the piston of the car we will say there are ten operations performed by one group of men, and in a particular unit there are ten men working on each operation making one hundred men in one string. The conveying belt moves round the group in a long ellipse, at one end a boy hangs the rough cylinders, just as they come from the foundry, upon the belt and at the other end a boy takes off the finished product. The superficial observer, and I fear Mr. Littell is in that class, sees the crude product going on at one end and the finished product taken off at the other but fails to note that the particular cylinder which is taken off may have been completed in one trip round the ellipse, or may have gone around many times.

The man who is performing operation number five watches the line of cylinders come along until he sees one which bears the chalk marks which indicate that it is ready for his hand. He takes it off the hook, completes his operation which may require one minute or five minutes, and the conveyor in constant motion may carry past him twenty similar cylinders before he is through. Having completed operation number five he marks the cylinder so that number six somewhere in the line will recognize it, hangs it on the first empty hook which passes, and takes off the next cylinder which is marked as ready for his operation.

I saw this process going on all over the plant and felt confident that the great majority of the workers are performing their tasks in this way. I hold no brief for Mr. Ford or for the type of mass production in which "work and creation, work and workmanship, are seen to have nothing in common," but on the other hand I think we should recognize that Ford is using a type of production which is not the worst possible in a machine governed civilization. R. K. ATKINSON.

New York City.

"Who Pays for Ellis Island?"

SIR: Your interesting editorial, Who Pays for Ellis Island? leaves out a most important item of income. In addition to $8 head tax, the United States charges $10 visa fee. The head tax is returned to the unfortunate who does not gain admission to these shores. The $10 visa remains in the treasury of this richest of countries. This $10 frequently stands between starvation or suicide and the rejected emigrant.

In my dealing with the emigration problem abroad, for almost two years, I could not help feeling that the visa tax was a most unjust burden laid upon people whose backs were breaking under many other heavy burdens. The United States was the first country to exact so enormous a tax. Other countries used to ask a ridiculous amount, and still do so of all but Americans. They ask us for $10 visa in retaliation. Yet it is not real retaliation. Americans can more easily pay a $10 visa fee than can citizens of other countries pay the equivalent.

In the case of countries other than the United States the visa one pays for, means something. It represents positive admission to the given country. In our case, it simply means that one is allowed to travel to our shores, see the Statue of Liberty, have a glimpse at the Woolworth Building from afar, and perhaps be admitted or rejected. The $10 once paid is gone forever.

If we translate the $8 head tax and $10 visa fee into the "valuta" or exchange of a given country we may understand what it really means. A certain steamship company in Rumania takes third class passengers all the way from the Rumanian sea port to New York for 11,000 Lei. The visa and head tax represent almost 4,000 Lei, or more than one third of the passage money. In terms of commodities, it represents, for a well-to-do American, the price of a fine hotel room for a couple for one month. It means the salary of a responsible bank employee for one month. In food it means—well, it would take too long to figure.

I sometimes wonder how much of our generosity to Europe's unfortunates comes out of their own pockets.

St. Louis. OSCAR LEONARD.

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Books and Things

WHEN we were undergraduates at Harvard a friend of mine showed me the comment upon his first written work in Philosophy 13, a course which was soon to carry both of us out of our depth. The subject was biographical, a sketch of Spinoza's life. Josiah Royce's appraisal of my friend's manuscript was as follows: "This is rather a colorless essay, though it shows both attention and intelligence." And the mark Professor Royce gave it, C, puzzled us not a little at that time, when it was news to us that attention and intelligence could yield such a scanty crop.

For me to give such a mark or to apply such words to Lord Charnwood's Theodore Roosevelt (Atlantic Monthly Press. $2.50) would for obvious reasons be grotesque in a high degree. So grotesque that I stay my pen, lest I be confounded and put to shame. Yet if some duly eminent professor of biography had made this application I might now be writing to thank him for saying what I take to be pretty near the truth. My own attitude as a reviewer must of course be quite different, and a becoming attitude is not easily struck. Perhaps an appearance of surprise, if I can keep it up, will answer the purpose. "Some emotion must appear to be raised," as Mr. Henry Tilney said to Miss Catherine Morland, "and surprise is more easily assumed, and not less reasonable, than any other."

Surprise is more reasonable than any other emotion in this case, where an uncommonly good biographer has wasted an uncommonly good subject. The book leaves me wondering why Lord Charnwood wrote it. "Candidly," he says, "my reason for writing it is, that, having been invited to do so, I am disabled from refusing by a boyish hero-worship which I conceived very long ago for Theodore Roosevelt—then and ever since unknown to me." Now a biography of Roosevelt might be flushed with hero-worship and yet be an admirable book in that kind. But is hero-worship employed in just the right way if it bleaches and pales its subject?

However, though Lord Charnwood's reasons for writing this book do not tell me why he wrote it, he has quite accounted for the impression which it leaves. In saying this I am thinking not of his modest and too unfavorable estimates of his own work—"for I would repeat how fully conscious I am of the crudeness and probably inaccuracy as well as the fragmentary nature of this survey;" "I am of course well aware of the crudity and fleeting worth of this study"—but of this passage: "But when I undertook it I made one demand—namely, that I should be amply briefed with the worst that had been said of Roosevelt. That demand has been fulfilled faithfully, and I have faithfully tried to use the material before me." His Theodore Roosevelt reads as if he had been briefed with the worst that could be said of Roosevelt and also with the best, and as if he had been shut up to a choice between these two briefs. This is not the fact, to be sure, but had it been the fact I can't see how Lord Charnwood's book would have differed from the book he has written.

Any biographer thus confined and restricted would choose, if he were an intelligent man, as Lord Charnwood has the air of having chosen, but no free painter of such a being as man in such a world as the present, no biographer at all curious about Theodore Roosevelt, would consent to have his hands tied by such a restriction. The best that has been said of Roosevelt is immensely sounder as a judgment of his value, comes ever so much nearer to being a good likeness of him, than the worst that has been said. Yet to set about painting him in either this best or this worst is to essay, with no tubes in your studio except moral blacks and moral whites, moral rights and moral wrongs, the portrait of an American whose coat was of many colors, whose plumage was that uncommon phenomenon, a blaze and a riot of self-tones.

It was Hume who said that "the isosceles and scalenum are distinguished by boundaries more exact than vice and virtue, right and wrong." Hume hadn't read Lord Charnwood, who can admit that that his hero's manner was "superfluously forcible," that he was platitudinous, that he liked to show off before learned men, that his was "the solemn and harmless vanity of a schoolboy," but who cannot admit, who cannot conceive, that Theodore Roosevelt ever did wrong. Thus Lord Charnwood, having elected to simplify a varied and a rich life by treating it as mostly an affair of moral choices, simplifies it still more by treating all the choices Roosevelt actually made as invariably right. The result is an impoverishment of the book and a reduction of its hero to less than life size.

Colonel Roosevelt would look larger and more interesting and more stimulating, I can't help believing, from the naturalist's than from the moralist's point of view. And even if a biographer's preoccupation must be with morals, he might do worse than to keep in mind the queerness of his hero's own preoccupation with that subject. "In all Shelley did, he, at the time of doing it, believed himself justified to his own conscience." Roosevelt, a more inveterate self-persuader than Shelley, was not satisfied with the approval of his conscience at the time of doing a thing. His conscience was trained also to look back and approve. His craving for a moral reason for what he did was so strong that he sought it even in the field of sports, his immense enjoyment of which was a sufficient reason for taking part in them. And what he sought he always found. When right and wrong did happen to be involved in a decision or a habit, the Colonel's reasons for doing as he saw fit were ingenious, opportune, highly and often divertingly characteristic. To his biographer they are always unanswerable. Neither in his own eyes nor in Lord Charnwood's did Roosevelt ever act upon a motive which he wasn't conscious of or which wouldn't look well when exposed to the light.

Written from a naturalist's standpoint, the life of Roosevelt that I am waiting for will not sound, as Lord Charnwood's does a little sound, as if it had been written in a guest-book. Lord Charnwood has grown polite, too polite. He calls Mr. Hughes "the great statesman now well known to the world," which is, as a piece of characterization, as if one should say "Mr. Hughes, better known as the well known Mr. Hughes." Senator Lodge appears here as "that sturdy life-long champion of good causes, Senator Lodge." On page 102 there is a passage about "the Indians, whom by the way, in an extraordinarily pathetic dying interview, Senator Quay—that great target for the reproaches of the reformers—bequeathed to his [Roosevelt's] special care." After telling the story of President McKinley's prayer for guidance out of the Philippine problem—to keep or not to keep—Lord Charnwood says: "He guided his steps by a less illusory light than that of common statesmen or common theorists about imperialism and its opposite, in the vague." Worth all the rest of this book, and more, is the extraordinarily interesting letter with which it closes, written by Roosevelt in March, 1911, and until now unpublished. P. L.

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Two New England Educators

A Life of Francis Amasa Walker, by James Phinney Munroe. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $4.00.
Life and Confessions of a Psychologist, by G. Stanley Hall. New York: D. Appleton and Company. $5.00.

THE primacy of Massachusetts in the development of education in the United States is emphasized by the Life of General Walker and President Hall's autobiography. Both men were of Old Bay State Stock. Almost all of Walker's forebears "came over in the first great wave of English immigration before 1650." Stanley Hall united the two colonial strains of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. On his mother's side he was in the eighth generation from John and Priscilla Alden, and on his father's side the ninth in succession from John Hall who came to Charlestown in 1630 with Governor Winthrop. Walker's ancestors were farmers, sailors, mechanics, who showed a special aptitude for pioneering, but his father had been a successful merchant, and settled in the urban community of Springfield. Hall's father and grandfather were farmers.

Amasa Walker was the strongest early influence in his son's life. After retiring from business, he devoted himself to the study of political economy and became a member of the Massachusetts Legislature and of the Congress of 1861-2. He was concerned with the historic anti-slavery cause, as well as those of temperance and international peace. His son was therefore born into the intellectual and moral aristocracy of Massachusetts, and this fact is reflected in his education at Amherst College, his inheritance of his father's interest in economic studies, and his early baptism into journalism through the Springfield Republican. It was in the natural course of things that Walker should go into the Civil War, and the record of his distinguished service is an interesting part of his biography. The war was his great school. As Assistant Adjutant General of the Second Corps of the Army of the Potomac, at an age when most men are in college, he received a training in command which his later life was abundantly to prove. The student of New England stocks will not fail to be impressed by the contrast between Walker's career and that of his contemporary, Henry Adams. In the years after the war when Henry Adams was finding at Washington and at Harvard only closed doors and blind alleys, Walker was constantly urged beyond his strength by the sense of opportunity, in public service as Director of the Census and the Indian Bureau, in journalism and in education.

Walker was a student of institutions; Hall of the essential nature of humanity. As Walker's bent toward politics and economic studies was determined by his social environment, so Hall became a psychologist as a result of an intense curiosity in regard to all the phenomena of life which was awakened by his early experience on the farm. He remarks: "Children had some part in almost all the activities on the farm, which combine so many elements of the physical, industrial, civil, and religious life of the citizen voters contemplated by the framers of our political institutions." To the association with animals on the farm he ascribes his interest in animal and comparative psychology; and he remarks on his good fortune in having always at hand a shop with bench and tools, which with the other activities of the farm made him motor-minded. In Hall's case it was the mother who was his early intellectual inspiration and support. She helped him to the formal education which New England in those days gave to poor but promising boys. He went to Williston Academy and Williams College. He escaped the war by exemption procured without his knowledge by his father, but he confesses that he could never wish that he had gone. He was "an extreme if not a pathetic pacifist;" and in this attitude he was apparently upheld by his environment, for he cannot "remember ever having heard an address or even a sermon on war either at Williston or at Williams." It was the lack of opening afforded by patronage and family influence which stimulated him to initiate and develop an original career. A year at Union Seminary, three years in Germany, and four more of teaching at Antioch and Harvard served to direct and confirm him in the course for which his character, interest and experience all fitted him, the new science of psychology.

It was a singular fate which brought these two men at about the same time back to Massachusetts, into educational positions calling for the exercise of the highest qualities of each and involving difficulties which it would seem that only they could successfully have met. In 1881 General Walker, then professor of Political Economy at Yale, was called to the presidency of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Seven years later Stanley Hall was called from the chair of psychology at Johns Hopkins to make plans for a new school of graduate studies to be founded by Jonas G. Clark at Worcester.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology had been founded in 1861, but after a struggling existence it seemed on the verge of dissolution in 1878. Three years later General Walker took control, and gave his life to the work of advancing technical education in the United States and developing one of the leading institutions in the world for its practice. In all ways he was extraordinarily fitted for the task. The inherited pioneering energy of his clan he put into his work of founder; and all the experience which he had gained in military and civil life into that of organizer. Although not a natural scientist he was essentially a technologist, and a man to whom self-expression took naturally an institutional form. The Institute of Technology is in a real sense his continuing life and his monument.

The founding of Clark University seemed to offer an opportunity for studies in pure science not less promising than the Institute offered for technology. In preparation, Stanley Hall made a study of higher education throughout Europe unequalled for range and thoroughness, and he assembled a faculty of extraordinary brilliancy. Then came disaster through the failure of Jonas Clark to measure up to the ambitious rôle for which he had cast himself. Whether under more auspicious circumstances Stanley Hall would have equalled the success of Walker or Gilman we cannot be sure; but it is clear that no one could have borne the burden of misunderstanding and misrepresentation, saving a desperate situation by constant personal sacrifice, more generously than Hall did for thirty years. Lack of resources forced Clark University to limit its program, and in this limitation Hall's own fields of psychology, childhood and education, came to be its chief interests. His long summary of what it has accomplished in these directions marks it as another example of the successful union of the man with the institution.

It is, of course, unfair to compare a biography with an autobiography in the matter of frankness of revelation. Yet so much allowed, the Life of General Walker is conspicuous for reticence as Mr. Hall's autobiography for freedom. Mr. Munroe assures us that General Walker

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was a prodigious letter writer, but that both he and his family believed that letters should be destroyed. The biographer was therefore confronted by a lack of the personal material which lends the color of life to biography. Stanley Hall's reminiscences are full of a rich and various humanity. From an early age he had the instinct of self-observation, to which his later training gave precision and meaning. His early experience with his elders and his brothers and sisters, his reading, music, religion, his childish fears, the extraordinary perversions which he witnessed among his schoolmates at Worthington, all these are recorded with their effect upon him. "I must have been a strange combination of adventurous boldness and of cowardice," he writes. His sexual life, the inhibitions and misunderstandings of his youth in New England, corrected and normalized by the freer world of Germany, is simply and honestly set forth. Nor does this frankness desert him when he tells of his later life surrounded with academic pomp and dignity. Writing that he might understand himself more fully, and realize how his psychology and philosophy grew out of basal and innate traits, he records with the gusto and naiveté of a Pepys things that are usually hidden. "I have never," he writes, "missed the opportunity to attend a prize fight if I could do so unknown and away from home." "Thrice I have taken *privatissime* dancing lessons." "In America and especially in foreign cities I found a guide to take me through the underworld at night to catch its psychological flavor." Thus Mr. Hall reminds us that to the psychologist life is an experiment and the world a laboratory; but so rich is the soil of human nature from which his psychology springs that life gains vital quality and the world a new interest by being made subject to scientific observation and inquiry. His science fulfills Pater's definition of philosophy, to sharpen one's perceptions and increase the avidity for experience. Philosophiren ist dephlegmatisiren vivificiren, quotes Pater in a famous passage. Stanley Hall's life is an example of this truth.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

Jung as Psychologist

Psychological Types, by C. G. Jung. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $7.50.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS began to gain headway in this country after Freud, Jung and other continental authorities lectured at Clark University in the latter part of the first decade of the twentieth century. At that time all analysts were extremely scornful both of psychology and of psychologists. The latter were not allowed to speak of analysis above a whisper. Both in print and in conversation the psychologist was told that until he had been analyzed he could not even understand this difficult subject, much less criticize it.

But the psychologist, in spite of lack of encouragement, persisted in trying to pierce its mysteries. Indeed, many of them "underwent" analysis. Gradually the principles of psycho-analysis, with its technique, became common scientific property. When the smoke of mystery had been cleared away it was found that most of the new principles were not so new after all.

Some of the analysts came to understand as much. This enlightened group welcomed the psychologists, and not a few of them became interested in psychology. Gradually a better spirit arose. Now psychologists and the more modern analysts can discuss their respective fields in a give and take way. This newer group of analysts realize that they are *behavior diagnosticians* and *teachers* and not *magicians*.

Jung does not belong to this modern school, but to the older group to whom present day psychology means very little. To him analysis is a "medicine."

He reflects this old fashioned exclusiveness very definitely in Psychological Types. There being no psychology worth his notice, perforce he must write one. So we find him becoming psychologist and philosopher. Those of us who know psychology and have some information about analysis wish that he had remained analyst.

To one who has struggled through The Psychology of the Unconscious the form of the present book does not come as a surprise. One finds here, as there, the same lack of clarity, the same teasing failure to come to close grips with Jung's logic. Indeed, from some examples he chooses and from some of the remarks of his translator (who suffers from the same affliction) one is almost tempted to believe that the book was activated by a wish to justify his obscurity by an appeal to "type"—since type is an inheritance, as the book will show, and one type cannot understand the words of a different type. His obscurity is thus justified.

According to Jung, objective psychology can go only a little way towards giving an adequate picture of the nature of the human "soul." Very few of the complex factors of human psychology can be witnessed and observed as measurable facts. That some of them can be so measured Jung tells us is shown by his Association Studies. If the reviewer may be allowed to break in upon the author's introverted thinking chain at this point, he would like to point out that considerable work on the conditioned reflex —glandular, muscular and emotional—demonstrates this still more clearly, but for Jung to take account of this work would seriously complicate his theory of the *unconscious,* both collective (phylogenetic) and individual (ontogenetic). Hence nearly all twentieth century psychology is ignored.

In Jung's psychology there are four "basic functions"—thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition. These are all coordinate but irreducible. The basis upon which he selects them is his own "general experience." Except for the last named, these are all old friends, but disguised in spiritualistic raiment. Indeed, in the sense in which they are used by Jung, they belong distinctly to mediaeval psychology.

One cannot go into a criticism of Jung's psychology. It is the kind the religious mystic must write in order to find justification for certain factors his training has forced him to believe must exist. It is a psychology in which all church doctrinaires can find a place. The "image" is innate; the libido, the unconscious, and the like are anthropomorphized and "energized."

With Jung as with Freud the church idea of the "devil" is brought over almost directly as the unconscious. Jung goes further than Freud. With Freud most of the symbolism, "ideas," etc., with which this devil, the unconscious, becomes laden come about through one mishap or another in the lifetime of the individual. But this does not make a powerful enough "devil" for Jung. Jung has a "collective unconscious"—due to our inheritance. "The primordial image (elsewhere also termed the 'archtype') is always collective, i. e. it is at least common to entire nations or epochs. In all probability the most important mythological motives are common at all times and races; I have,

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in fact, demonstrated a whole series of motives from Grecian mythology in the dreams and phantasies of thoroughbred Negroes suffering from mental disorder." "The primordial image, therefore, is a recapitulatory expression of the living process." As the translator points out, although not in these words, this makes Jung's "magic" much more powerful than Freud's.

Leaving his psychology and coming to his discussion of types, we find that Jung no longer identifies the "thinking" type with the introvert and the "feeling" type with the extravert, as he did in his earlier works. If any one of the four above named primary functions habitually prevails in an individual, a corresponding type results. Furthermore, *every one of these types can be introverted or extraverted.* Hence the full list of psychological types is as follows:

Extraverts of the	Introverts of the
Thinking type	Thinking type
Feeling "	Feeling "
Sensation "	Sensation "
Intuitive "	Intuitive "

The major two types are extravert and introvert. The extravert is oriented by the object, by external conditions. "If a man so thinks, feels and acts, in a word lives, as to correspond directly with objective conditions and their claims, whether in a good sense or ill, he is extraverted." The extravert is an exponent of the claims of society. He does or tries to do just what his environment from moment to moment needs or expects him to do. The weak point in the extravert's system of reaction is his own inward needs and requirements. To conform with the environmental demands he may even slight and starve his own physical and bodily needs. The extravert's danger lies in the fact that he becomes caught up in objects—losing himself in their toils. The functional and physical disorders resulting are compensatory in character. A singer whose increasing fame tempts him to overstep the safe bounds of energy expenditure is robbed of his high notes. The rapidly expanding social circle of the successful social climber may bring on the psychogenic state indicative of mountain sickness. The man on the point of marrying an idolized woman with none too unquestioned past suddenly is seized with a spasm of the oesophagus, forcing him to a regimen of two cups of milk in a day, slowly consumed. All visits to the fiancée have to cease. Hysteria is the most frequent neurosis met within the extraverted type. As historical examples of the extraverted type Jung gives Humphry Davy and Liebig.

The individual belonging to the introverted type is distinguished from the extravert by the fact that he is governed by subjective factors. The introvert is taciturn, impenetrable and often shy. The introvert interposes a subjective view between the perception of the object and his own action which prevents the action from assuming a character that corresponds with the objective situation. "Introverted consciousness doubtless views the external conditions, but it selects the subjective determinants as the decisive ones." For fear that some of his readers may accuse him here of introducing a supramundane, spiritualistic component in the human being, Jung hastens to explain what the term "subjective" should carry in his work. "As the subjective factor, then, I understand that psychological action or reaction which, when merged with the effect of the object, makes a new psychic fact."

The introvert and the extravert can be found in all classes among both men and women, in high society and in the working classes. Both types may be found in the same family, in spite of the greatest possible similarity of external conditions (for which Jung offers no proof). They apparently have quite a random distribution (another asserted fact for which Jung offers no proof). If, under pressure from parent or other social forces, attempt is made to change the type of the individual, he becomes neurotic later and a cure can be successfully sought only in a development of that attitude which corresponds with the individual's natural way.

We shall not in the present review attempt to discuss the various subdivisions of these two general types.

Jung feels that he has made a real contribution to psychology. Types for him become a kind of philosophy of life.

Since types are fundamental and "dispositional," the individual can no more change his type than can the leopard his spots. The individual must, alone or by the help of the analyst, determine upon his type, chart his course accordingly upon the particular sea which floats his vessel.

According to the author, the understanding and admission of types by humanity at large brings about a wider understanding of human nature and should help to remove conflict. We must not only recognize that types exist but also the fact that "every man is so imprisoned by his type that he is simply incapable of a complete understanding of another's viewpoint. Without this recognition we must inevitably tread upon the toes of others. Each type, recognizing his own predilection, must abstain from casting indignities, suspicions and depreciatory valuations upon his opposing type."

It is difficult for the reviewer, possibly blinded by his "type," to see Jung's justification for such a classification. Only an adherent of his psychology, patched up as it is from speculations long outgrown, can feel any cogency in his reasoning. The book does not aid the science of psychology; it actually confuses it by unjustifiable and unsupported assumptions. Nor does it in the reviewer's opinion contribute to the technique of analysis. At best it seems to be but another justification of life's failures and to give one more shoulder upon which the weakling may lean.

Cannot we have a book some time which is based not so much upon unproven assumptions about inborn dispositions and inherited constitution (which cannot be changed), as upon the fact that we can by scientific training in infancy so shape the individual that he will develop without having his individuality pruned by society? And as our human subject grows up and begins to display his own variations in behavior (individuality), cannot he at the same time learn to steer his course in society without suffering anything more serious than a slap now and then? This would mean on the psychological side that there are as many types as there are individuals, which seems to be in line with common sense as well as modern psychology.

JOHN B. WATSON.

Labyrinth

Labyrinth, by Helen R. Hull. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.00.

THE trouble with the novel as a vehicle for ideas about human relations is that, after all, it is a novel, and one quarrels with its findings in general at the risk of having it pointed out that this is a special case. This trouble is, of course, a trouble that only the reviewer need worry over; it is a very neat advantage for the author that her book may assume as many forms as an Old Man

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Christian Civilization—Is It Christian!

After Nineteen Hundred Years Has Christianity Seriously Modified the Pagan Character of Human Society?

This question was put to a group of the most influential social students in the American church, all of them leaders and close advisors of the various social service movements in all the denominations and the Federal Council of Churches. Among them are:

Bishop Francis J. McConnell,
F. Ernest Johnson,
Charles A. Ellwood,
Alva W. Taylor,
Harry F. Ward,
Samuel Z. Batten,
Ross L. Finney,
Albion W. Small,
Arthur E. Holt,
Herbert H. Shenton,
Edward Alsworth Ross

¶ They divided the problem into many pieces, each taking one piece to investigate.

¶ Their answer is an amazing revelation!

¶ In a series of articles they declare with surprising unanimity that the industry, the economics, the politics, our nationalist conceptions and practices and the international relations of our so called Christian civilization are *based upon and shot through and through with utterly pagan implications.*

¶ Our workaday life and our public life have not yet seriously felt the influence of the mind of Jesus. On the contrary, a society dominated by Christian men is found to be governed by rules which are non-Christian, anti-Christian, flagrantly pagan.

¶ If these pagan rules and principles remain unrevolutionized, says Professor Albion W. Small, *"the goodly fellowship of the Apostles could not operate our present industrial system and make its workings just."*

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY
A Journal of Religion
CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON and HERBERT L. WILLETT, Editors
Published Weekly Four Dollars a Year

¶ These churchmen agree that it is vain to ask men to be Christians in industry or politics and at the same time accept pagan ideals, motives and methods as their rules of action.

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of the Sea. But in Labyrinth Miss Hull has rather delivered herself into my hands by her own foreword. I shall grasp her firmly by it, and defy her book to turn into just the involved story of Catherine and Charles.

Miss Hull says, "Ariadne alone might not have slain the monster. She might have traveled through the passageways, her silken thread between her fingers, and perished herself without some aid from Theseus." Marriage, of course, is the labyrinth, but the implication of the title is fairer than the book, for maidens and youths were offered in equal numbers to the Minotaur and impartially devoured, while one feels that Miss Hull's monster will eat a dozen women any day in preference to one man. *Labyrinth* is further disqualified as evidence concerning the maze of matrimony because Charles, the husband and Theseus of the story, seems to have confused himself with another classical reference, and spends the 343 pages of the novel sulking in his tent.

This is the story of a woman who is the wife of a psychologist and the mother of three children, and who, appalled at the monotony and pettiness and futility of her tasks as a wife-of-all-work, tries to escape from them into work which gives her adequate rewards. She fails. Heaven knows that this is a story which is working itself out, with variations, everywhere; but it is a pity that Catherine and Charles Hammond might not have been more representative of the men and women who are caught in this situation. They might have been, without being in the least less differentiated or less alive, and they would have been immensely more effective. If, for instance, Charles were not completely unimaginative for Catherine the situation would be both more poignant and more real. The labyrinth is more truly a labyrinth because husbands are not invariably or even frequently stumbling-blocks, but human beings, as bewildered and unhappy as their wives at the metamorphosis of intelligent companions into nursery slaves.

I find it hard to believe that a person trained to use her mind and delighting in the use of it would behave in every crucial situation like a neurotic. It may be possible to be married to a man for some ten years, bear him three children and still be too inarticulate to talk to him honestly for one full evening before going back to work, but in that case I feel sure that the work would not be a highly involved investigation for a bureau of educational research, but something of a more primitive nature —scrubbing floors, perhaps. It is harder still to believe that any mother would go back to work without explaining first to her children what she was trying to do.

The most satisfactory human relationship in this book is one between two women characters. Marriage shows up beside it as something dingy and unalluring, a whining and exacting state. There is not much intimation here that all of marriage has not been presented, and that if its demands are more exigent its rewards are correspondingly greater.

The book as a book is excellent. Because Miss Hull has chosen such controversial material her reviewers may too easily forget to say that her writing is fluent and precise, that she says what she means to say with definiteness and clarity, that she changes her rhythm with the changing demands of her material—that she is, in short, a thorough craftsman. She gives her beautifully drawn characters a three dimensional world to live in, full of weather and sunshine, and alive with color and sound.

DOROTHEA BRANDE.

Economics for Artists

The Control of Industry, by D. H. Robertson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.25.

This book is being written at a time of general disillusionment. The high hopes widely cherished only a few years since of the speedy establishment of a new order in industry have faded and shrivelled away. Capitalism to all appearances has been reestablished on its throne, largely, by a curious irony, through the agency of a most patent proof of its own shortcomings—the occurrence of a prolonged and severe depression of trade.

THIS is Mr. Robertson's conclusion and a good example of his style and method. He has written a textbook which is number IV of the Cambridge Economic Handbooks, edited by J. M. Keynes, but it is not like any textbook you have ever seen. A better title might be Economics for Artists. Each chapter is prefaced with a quotation from Alice in Wonderland, pat as a nickel in a subway turnstile. Thus Chapter I, on the scope of the discussion: "'Ahem!' said the Mouse, with an important air. 'Are you all ready? This is the driest thing I know!'" It is wonderfully lucid in style, but fortunately it is not written down for that mythical moron, who lords it over all modern writers, the man on the street. Above all there is wit, imagination and a gentle irony that puts one in mind of Anatole France. Because the book was produced in a period of disillusionment, Mr. Robertson has had opportunity to see at once the ghastly mess which capitalism has wrought, and the collapse of so many Utopias which were to replace it. He stands between the devil of the vested interests and the deep sea of revolution and looks about him with an eye in which wisdom and irony and pity commingle.

He never refers to the "existing industrial system" without the use of quotation marks. He finds upon analysis nothing which can be called a system. The control of industry turns out to be about as stable as the control of the weather. While this condition of affairs is the desideratum of laissez-faire, it by no means is run on pure laissez-faire lines. Free competition has worked so badly, that the trust, the trade union, the cooperative, the manufacturers' association and the state have all had to come aboard in an effort to keep the crazy craft from foundering. But none of these emergency crews have, in any real sense, taken the tiller. They have manned the pumps, and patched a sail or two, but the ship herself still bloweth where the wind listeth. During the war, the state did steer a short course, but after the Armistice the wheel was spun loose with incredible dispatch. Industrial control in any synthetic sense simply non est.

The scheme of the book is to give first a brief account —and a crisp, imaginative account it is—of the roots and rise of capitalism, culminating in standardization, integration—both vertical and horizontal—and the four basic types of monopoly. Upon this "system" is then levelled a chapter of penetrating criticism, in which, among other things, the genuine grievance of the worker is developed with great sympathy and no sentimentalism. Then follows an analysis of the major alternatives which have been proposed for capitalism—Cooperation, Collectivism, Communism, Syndicalism, and lastly "Joint Control," or participation of the worker in the management of industry as a graft on the capitalist tree. These movements are handled with a rare understanding—even Russia has its due.

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Mr. Robertson feels, and he makes us feel, the vision and the hope which have inspired them, but he sees as well the almost insuperable difficulties which bar the road.

> The philosophy of the academic individualist does not fit all the facts: the philosophy of the business boss will not permanently satisfy the heart of man: the philosophy of the poet is not at present a workable proposition. Fettered by the insufficiency of the earth and the chronic disappointingness of human nature, Society stumbles forward on the only half realized quest for a more sensible and kindly way of conducting its affairs. In the economic world, as in the spiritual world with which it is so perplexingly interwined
>
> There is no expeditious road
> To pack and label souls for God
> And save them by the barrel-load.

To my eyes, the book would have almost reached perfection, within its scope, if two viewpoints had been accented more strongly. Mr. Robertson sees industrial control primarily as a problem in money economy. The ghost of Threadneedle Street is still upon him. He never quite looks at it—even when he discusses communism—from the *physical* angle as a problem of men and food and carriage and metals and timber and climate. And again, while he makes some exceeding shrewd psychological observations, he does not link industrial control sufficiently to the fundamental question of social psychology.

But these omissions are freely pardoned in what is certainly the most readable and the most artistic textbook in economics ever written.

STUART CHASE.

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"The Russian Soviet Republic" has just been published by the Century Co., 353 Fourth Avenue, New York City. It is the third volume of Professor Ross's trilogy on Russia. The first two volumes are "Russia in Upheaval" and the "Russian Bolshevik Revolution." Each is a full-size octavo volume of between 300 and 400 pages, fully illustrated; and each is sold by booksellers or the publishers for $3.00.

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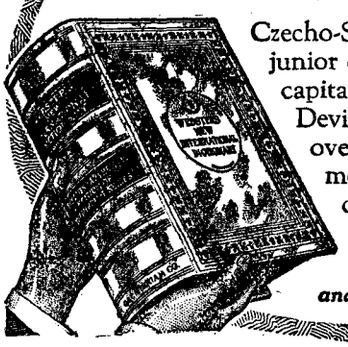

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The American High School

THE following articles represent various aspects of a distinctive institution of public education in the United States, the high school. The discussion falls into several groups, the first dealing with history and fundamental problems; the second with questions of school management and administration; the third with special topics. To these have been added two articles of suggestive character on foreign schools. Equal representation has been given to professors of education, who are authorities in regard to phases of the subject, and to teachers and administrators in active service. The Editors of the New Republic take this opportunity of expressing their thanks to the contributors of the present group of articles.

CONTENTS

The High School in Evolution.....Alexander Inglis 1
How Much Shall We Pay for High Schools?.....Charles H. Judd 3
The Social Composition of the High School.....George S. Counts 5
Vocational Training in Secondary Schools.....William Martin Proctor 7
A Job for Teachers' Organizations...Henry R. Linville 9
What *Is* the High School Teacher's Job?.....Lillian Herstein 11
Moral Discipline in the High School.....H. S. T. 13
The Parent and the Grade Adviser..Agnes M. Conklin 15
The Rural High School.....George A. Works 17
The Junior High School.....James M. Glass 19
The Junior College Movement.....Leonard V. Koos 22
Some Foreign Schools.....Carleton W. Washburne 24
What England Is Thinking.....R. H. Tawney 26

The High School in Evolution

IMPORTANT developments in institutional evolution usually are well on their way toward completion before the facts and the significance of the facts are commonly understood. Certainly that is true of developments in the American secondary school within the past quarter of a century. Even at present, when important steps in its evolution are practically faits accomplis, few citizens are familiar with the facts of the high school's development and fewer still appreciate the significance of those facts for American education and for American society. The character of our secondary school is changing rapidly. The facts of its evolution should be known and their significance should be appreciated: if the evolution is in the right direction, that it may be facilitated and expedited; if it is in the wrong direction, that it may be checked and redirected.

Some of the developments in secondary education are easily presented and readily understood. Among them are the remarkable growth of high schools and the greatly increased number of pupils in attendance. Since 1890 the number of public secondary schools has increased from less than 3,000 to more than 14,000, and the number of all secondary schools has increased from less than 5,000 to more than 16,000. Within the same period the number of pupils attending secondary schools (public and private) has increased from about 300,000 to more than 2,000,000; from 4.7 to more than 18 pupils per thousand of the total population, attendance at the private secondary school remaining almost constant at 1.5 pupils per thousand of the total population, while attendance at the public secondary school increased from 3.2 to 16 or 17 pupils per thousand of the total population.

This development is indicative of two important facts. Quantitatively considered, it indicates that a far larger proportion of American citizens is receiving some amount and some kind of secondary education, and, presumably, that the average level of trained intelligence has been raised measurably within the past three decades. Qualitatively considered it indicates that the clientele of the public secondary school has changed rapidly from a relatively homogeneous and select body to one which is very heterogeneous and representative of a wide range of social, economic, and intellectual status. Important as is the quantitative change in our secondary school clientele, the qualitative change is even more important. It represents a step toward what will probably be the final stage in the adaptation of the secondary school to American society

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as a whole rather than to a relatively small portion of it.

In all countries until recent times and in most countries at present secondary education has been conceived as an institution suitable and desirable for those only who by virtue of social, economic, or intellectual superiority could be expected or were ambitious to assume positions of leadership in life. This selective ideal has always dominated secondary education in Europe. It was inherited by the Latin grammar school of the American colonies, and, in spite of changes introduced through the academy movement and in the early high school, persisted throughout the nineteenth century, fostered by a similar conception of the function of higher education and by the intimate relation between secondary and collegiate education. It is still the dominant ideal in the minds of many citizens.

The history of secondary education in America, especially during the later period, has been marked by two tendencies which are reciprocally related—the expansion of its curriculum and the attraction of larger proportions of the population, drawn from successively lower social, economic, and intellectual levels. As the curriculum was expanded, larger proportions of the population were enrolled and pupils of different types were attracted. Reciprocally, as pupils were enrolled in larger numbers and as the secondary school attracted pupils of different types, the curriculum was expanded to meet their needs. One may believe that these tendencies are desirable or undesirable, but they are facts which must be recognized in any consideration of the functions and character of secondary education. Probably they represent inevitable developments in our public-school system, more or less paralleling developments in social ideals and changes in the form of our social organization.

The public high school as a distinct institution had its beginning in the Massachusetts law of 1827, though that law had been foreshadowed in 1821 by the establishment of the English Classical (High) School of Boston. As a public institution it succeeded the Latin grammar school of the colonial period and it was designed to diminish, possibly even to eliminate, the highly selective character of that institution, at least as far as social or economic selection was involved. It was intended to provide secondary education not only for those destined to go to college and to enter the higher professions, but also for those who would close their formal education with the high school. The new idea thus introduced into the public secondary school (it had long been manifest in the private academy) is the origin of our modern conception of the function of public secondary education—that, as far as possible, its opportunities should be afforded to each citizen according to his capacity, his needs, and his willingness to make the necessary effort.

In its early stages the development of the public high school was slow and until well into the last half or even the last quarter of the nineteenth century it was overshadowed by the private academy, which dominated the field of secondary education until about 1875. Even less rapidly did the high school movement progress toward the accomplishment of the broad ideals which gave it rise. The traditional conception of the selective function of secondary education persisted in the new institution and the influence of college preparation remained dominant throughout the nineteenth century. While the curriculum expanded and pupils were attracted in much larger numbers the public high school remained essentially a selective institution not well adapted to the varying needs and capacities of a large proportion of the pupils whom it enrolled, or should have enrolled. Not until the beginning of the twentieth century was there observable any marked tendency to make the public high school conform to the ideals with which it started.

The adaptation of public secondary education to the varying needs and capacities of pupils began with an expansion of the curriculum to include a wider range of studies almost exclusively academic. The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw a beginning of "commercial" (clerical) studies and of "manual training." These were followed in the past two decades by the introduction of many practical-arts, vocational, and fine-arts subjects. While these expansions of the curriculum are by no means universal, it may be said that the movement is well under way to provide in the secondary school a program of studies as widely adapted to the needs of pupils as the resources of any given community can justify. Unquestionably we are now proceeding on a policy which calls for including in the secondary school curriculum almost any study suited to the needs of any large group of pupils.

If we are to accept this policy, we must recognize the fact that expansion of the program of studies is not the only requirement. Expansions of the curriculum can serve only to meet varying needs as they have to do with the fields of activity with which different groups of pupils will be concerned in later life. A far more difficult problem faces us in the adaptation of secondary education to the varying capacities of pupils. The increased enrollments in the secondary school indicate not only that we have tapped successively lower social and economic levels, but also that we have tapped successively lower levels of native capacity and acquired abilities.

The *academic* studies of our secondary school, *as at present ordinarily organized and taught,* require for successful accomplishment an intelligence probably not lower than five points above average ability. This means that the academic studies of our high school are geared up so that they cannot be undertaken satisfactorily by more than one-half of American citizens. One may hold that the public secondary school should be an institution with selective ideals. Can any one hold that the selective factor should be such as to exclude more than one-half of our children from reasonably successful accomplishment in English, foreign languages, mathematics, science, and history? It is not on record that the French language is reserved in France for those only who have an intelligence above the average. Nor can it be maintained seriously that any study in the high school program is inherently impossible for a pupil anywhere near normality. It is perfectly possible for most American citizens to learn the limited amount of any high school study, provided it is organized and taught with proper regard for the capacities of the pupils concerned. We have devoted our attention to expansions of the curriculum in the public secondary school. We have failed to adapt instruction to the varying capacities of those whom we encourage to attend the high school.

In the past this issue has been met in part by utilizing as salvage departments the various non-academic subjects, successively making the commercial department, the manual-training department, and the practical-arts departments the educational waste baskets of the high school. This has never been right and it cannot long continue. The issue must be met by a real adaptation of instruction to the varying capacities of the children concerned. This constitutes the most important and by far the most difficult problem to be faced in the field of secondary education. It is the final step in the policy inaugurated a century ago.

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All this raises the fundamentally important question: Are present tendencies in the right direction? Should we continue in our attempts to provide secondary education for all normally constituted citizens and to adapt it to their various needs and capacities? In large part that is an academic question, since the clientele of the public high school is now qualitatively representative of American society. We cannot ignore the fact that the two million pupils now enrolled in the secondary school represent almost all grades of native capacity above the moron and almost every type of educational need. Common justice demands that we should either exclude a large proportion of those pupils or see to it that they are afforded the sorts of education suited to their capacities and needs. The first of these alternatives is not likely to be considered seriously by the American people. Whether we wish it or not, we may confidently expect the extension of present tendencies rather than any reversal of policies.

The limitations of space here imposed do not permit a formulation of arguments for the conception that secondary education should exercise its selective function by differentiation rather than by exclusion, elimination, or failure, and that it should afford opportunities to each normally constituted citizen according to his capacities and needs. In the judgment of the writer that is the only legitimate conception permissible in American society, and that we must proceed to the fuller achievement of the ideal inaugurated by the public high school in its origin.

ALEXANDER INGLIS.

How Much Shall We Pay for High Schools?

THE problem of financing secondary education in the United States is part of the general problem of providing a free public education for all American young people. That the burden of equipping and conducting schools of all grades is getting heavier and heavier each year is a fact well known to the taxpayer. In 1910 it cost the country a little less than 472 million dollars for schools; in 1920 it cost more than twice as much or, to be exact, 1,160 millions, which represents an increase of 146 percent.

In several important respects, however, the problem of paying for high schools is not like other aspects of the general problem of paying for public schools; it is a special and more complicated matter. Public education of the elementary grade has indeed increased in expense. In 1910, the country spent 375 millions for elementary schools and in 1920, 795 millions, an increase of 112 percent in a decade. High schools cost 51 millions in 1910 and 240 millions in 1920, the increase here being 371 percent. As one looks into the future, the question arises very pointedly, How far will the public tolerate such a disproportionate increase in expenditures for high schools?

There are several other ways in which the problem may be stated. In 1920, it cost in Los Angeles $58.21 per pupil to carry on the work of the elementary schools for a year, while it cost $165.54 a year to educate a high school student. In Providence, Rhode Island, the figures were $36.81 and $103.29. In Atlanta, Georgia, they were $36.58 and $72.54.

The disparity illustrated is very easy to explain, but it is by no means as easy to justify. Of course, it costs more to provide instruction in a series of advanced subjects like trigonometry and the history of English literature than to provide instruction in penmanship and spelling. The important question is, however, Shall the public provide free instruction in trigonometry for those who want to take this subject?

The figures quoted raise another question. If Atlanta pays twice as much per high school pupil as it pays for each elementary school pupil, is it in keeping with good public policy for Los Angeles to pay three times as much for each high school pupil as for each elementary school pupil? Perhaps Los Angeles is right. In that case Atlanta will have to be exhorted to mend her ways.

The comparison between localities presents new complications when one goes outside of the cities and considers the small high schools in country districts where the population is sparse. If a country district is to have any high school at all, it will have to be an expensive public investment, because there is no possibility of securing the economies which come from putting many pupils in a single class. Some figures from a recent report of the state department of education of Arizona illustrate the matter. The details are given in the table which follows:

HIGH SCHOOL ARRANGED IN ORDER OF ANNUAL COSTS PER PUPIL IN ATTENDANCE *

	Number of Pupils	Annual Cost Per Pupil	Length of Term in Days	Cost Per Pupil Per Day
Phoenix	1,479	$153.58	179	$0.86
Winslow	126	195.34	176	1.11
Ray	26	224.37	166	1.35
Duncan	81	245.58	169	1.45
Clifton	102	290.68	189	1.54
Casa Grande	66	314.14	166	1.89
Miami (Live Oak)	179	381.31	182	2.10
State average	.....	193.90	...	....

The figures cited up to this point refer to current expenses only. They do not cover the important item of capital outlay. The American people have a way of fooling themselves about some of their expenditures by issuing bonds. They are especially prone to do this when they grow enthusiastic and want a more expensive school building than that erected by some neighboring and rival community. It was found in a recent survey of the financial condition of the school districts of Illinois that thirty rural high schools with an average daily attendance of less than fifty pupils each had accumulated an aggregate bonded indebtedness of $1,264,203. If this amount is divided by the number of communities, it will be seen that the average indebtedness is $42,140. If the total is divided by the number of pupils in the thirty schools, it is found that the average bonded indebtedness per pupil is $1,200. The

* Abbreviated table, using every fifth case. From the Sixth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of the State of Arizona for the period July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1922.

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interest on $1,200 at 5 percent is $60; the community has to pay, therefore, each year $60 per pupil before it begins to have anything with which to provide instruction.

The gravity of the bond problem is obscured by dealing in averages, as we have in the foregoing paragraph. There are numerous communities in Illinois and in other states where over $125 has to be paid annually for every high school pupil in order to meet the interest on bonds sold at the time of the erection of an expensive high school. In addition, the bonds will, of course, have to be paid some day.

There are some people who believe that these facts lead to the conclusion that the American plan of a free high school education for all comers must be abandoned. The present writer disagrees emphatically with these people, but it is only fair that their solution of the difficult problem be carefully considered.

Those who would discontinue the free high school argue that public money must be expended only on the general elementary education of the masses. They hold that it is not the duty of the public to provide higher education because advanced training is more to the advantage of the individual than to the advantage of the community. The boy who goes to high school will, on the average, reach a higher level of earning power than his neighbor who ends his schooling in the elementary grades. This being so, let the high school boy pay for his education and relieve the public.

Sometimes those who are opposed to a free high school supplement their arguments by pointing out that the average high school pupil is seriously lacking in appreciation of his opportunities. Furthermore, the school is extravagant, they say, in the wide variety of subjects that are taught. The courses are ridiculous in their content and low in standards because of their effort to respond to the popular demand for all sorts of practical training. They are entirely lacking, it is charged, in that intellectual quality which used to characterize the higher schools in the days when attendance was from the upper levels of society and training was for the professions.

I am frank to admit that I find it very difficult to combat such attacks on the American high school if one concentrates one's attention on the arguments point by point. Elementary education is certainly of such importance that it is difficult to defend the disparities in cost which commonly appear between elementary schools and high schools. The benefit to the community of much high school work and the seriousness of purpose of many high school students cannot be demonstrated, and the charge of wastefulness has to be admitted. Yet, as was said in an earlier paragraph, I disagree with those who would put an end to all of this public expenditure for high schools, and I am quite prepared to face all of the facts of high costs and increasing costs and to predict that the end of expenditures is not yet and by no means near.

If one is to get a true perspective on this whole matter, one must be keenly aware of the fact that the American high school is one of the most unique experiments of our unique social scheme. There is no free high school in Europe. The free high school is a creation of American democracy. In the older civilizations higher education was the exclusive privilege of the upper classes, and the door to the higher schools was barred by many devices, not the least of which was and is today a tuition fee. Germany and France and England have never ventured to face the public fiscal problem of eliminating the tuition fee in higher schools. England has gone farther than the others by establishing numerous scholarships, but even England has never felt competent financially to open the high schools to all comers.

When the American high school was first established as a tax-supported institution, the magnitude of the experiment was not great. Only a few people took advantage of the opportunity, and the fiscal burden was not heavy. Furthermore, the few who attended the early high schools were so much alike in their intellectual and social ambitions that a relatively narrow range of courses of instruction sufficed. High schools were cheap because they were small and their offerings meager. It took democracy a long time to realize the unique opportunity offered by its own institutions.

Since 1890 all of this has been changing so rapidly that one has to study carefully the official figures in order to realize what has been happening. In 1890, one of every ten children of high school age took advantage of the American opportunity for a free higher education. Today one of every three children goes to high school. This statement holds for the United States as a whole, including rural areas and new states. There are, however, municipalities where two of every three children go to high school.

The gross figures of attendance are even more impressive:

Year	Number of Pupils in High School
1889-1890.....	297,894
1899-1900.....	630,048
1909-1910.....	1,032,461
1919-1920.....	2,371,015

The corresponding changes in the general population of the United States can be kept in mind on the basis of the single statement that in 1890 the total population was somewhat less than 63 millions and in 1920 not twice that number.

The impressive fact about the growth of the high school is that in recent years it has gone on with acceleration rather than at a retarded rate. It is safe to say that the people of the United States have come to understand their opportunity. They are going to demand a high school education for their children. There is no promise of a reduction in numbers, to say the least; and every indication points to an increase.

Related to the increase in attendance is another fact of expansion. The variety of courses offered is steadily increasing. With each new class of the population entering the high school comes the demand for new courses. So long as the professional class alone attended, the classics and higher mathematics sufficed. When the prospective banker goes to high school, he asks for commercial arithmetic as a substitute for algebra; when the prospective home-maker goes to high school, she asks for science and home economics. The newcomers not only ask for these new courses but get them. The movement toward the expansion of education is supported and aided by the fact that modern life with its growing complexities is demanding that even the most ordinary man and woman enter upon the activities of industry and commerce with more than an elementary school knowledge of the world. The net result is that the modern high school is hardly well equipped unless it offers courses in fifteen to fifty subjects.

Is there any one who seriously believes that American communities are going to put an end to these expansions? Can any one imagine the members of a city council or

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a mayor saying that they will stand for reelection on a platform of abandonment of the high schools? Is there a social reformer who will try to convince American families that their boys and girls will fit into the industrial scheme better if they are given as meager an education as the law will permit?

Of course, there is no one who will try to stem the tide. The high school is here, and it is expanding at an astounding rate. It is costly and is about to cost more. The problem is not how to curtail it or how to contract its operations. The real problems are of a wholly different order.

I believe that the first problem is to secure general recognition of the fact that higher education does not rapidly produce real property and that it is hazardous to try to support high schools by levying the costs as a tax on real property only. Higher education reflects itself most promptly and effectively in increased incomes. An income tax is the natural and only adequate source of support for higher education. The present difficulty in meeting the increased costs of schooling can be removed only by an income tax.

I believe that the second problem of high school education is the elimination of waste. There is waste because students do not take their opportunities seriously. There is waste because incompetent teachers are employed at low salaries. There is waste because equipment is not provided inside the school and because lavish decorations are built into the exterior walls. There is waste because the elementary schools are separate from the high schools, the two often coming into competition with each other. There will be waste until a coherent plan is worked out which will put the high school on a surer and better foundation through the development of a better elementary school. Incidentally, it may be remarked, this means a more expensive elementary school rather than a cheaper high school.

I believe that the third problem is to exhibit clearly to the people of the United States the reasons why the American high school costs so much. It is my firm conviction that they will see that there is a public return in the broadest sense from this democratic expenditure of public funds. If they are convinced, I believe that they will gladly pay more liberally in the future than they have in the past for free high schools.

CHARLES H. JUDD.

The Social Composition of the High School

IN the public high school, more than in any other of our educational institutions, has the genius of the American people expressed itself. The establishment of this secondary school as a continuation of elementary education and its maintenance at public expense constitute one of our greatest cultural achievements. Through it the privileges of higher education are theoretically extended to the masses and through it American society has registered its attitude towards such fundamental matters of social concern as the equalization of opportunity, the inheritance of privilege, the stability of classes, and the sources of leadership.

The growth of the high school, however, during the first half-century of its existence was not rapid. But within the last generation this institution has expanded at a rate that is quite without precedent in the history of American education. From 1890 to 1920 the number of high schools increased from about 2,500 to more than 14,000 and the number of students in attendance from approximately 200,000 to almost 2,000,000. At the same time the public expenditures for secondary education increased many fold and in not a few communities the high-school building became a source of civic pride.

So impressive has been this growth that the uncritical have been led to conclude that in America secondary education has abandoned the selective principle, that the absence of tuition charges has opened the doors of the high school to all children, and that within this institution are now gathered without discrimination the boys and girls of every social class. But only a moment's reflection is sufficient to dispel this illusion. The number of children of high school age, children from fourteen to eighteen years, greatly exceeds the two million students enrolled in the secondary school. There are, in fact, more than eight million children of this age in our population. To be sure, many of those not attending the secondary school may be found among the average pupils in the grades below. But it is altogether clear that the great majority of those of appropriate age who are not in high school are enrolled in no school whatsoever.

We shall assume, therefore, that the two million high school students in the United States are more or less highly selected. But what is the principle of selection? A simple and direct answer to this question cannot be given, because selection must be traced to the subtle interaction of three factors or sets of factors. Since these forces are always acting together, their relative importance in determining attendance at high school is difficult to estimate. They may be described as psychological, geographical, and sociological. Although it is with the third that we are primarily concerned here, each of the other two must receive recognition. The ground will then be cleared for considering our major problem.

The psychological equipment of the individual child undoubtedly plays a large part in determining the extension of the opportunities of secondary education. Throughout history the secondary school has sought to minister to the needs of the intellectually gifted. With diminished force this tradition remains with us today. Although high school teachers may on occasion doubt it, nevertheless all available evidence indicates that the average high school student is relatively gifted. Owing to the operation of other forces there are, of course, many individual exceptions to this general rule. Moreover, the selection is negative rather than positive. Boys and girls may be excluded from high school because they lack capacity, but they are seldom brought into the high school because they possess it. With the impartial operation of this psychological factor, however, we would find no fault. If we are not to have universal secondary education, it would seem that here is a just basis for determining the extension of this level of educational opportunity. No progressive society, conscious of its needs and purposes, can permit the development of

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the capacities of its talented members to rest on the operation of the arbitrary forces of geography and social status.

The influence of the geographical factor is well known. If high schools are inaccessible, or relatively so, children will not attend them. The rare individual may overcome rather serious obstacles of this type, but for the great majority distance serves as an effective damper on educational ambitions. Even in our most populous states there are wide areas which are practically devoid of high schools. The extension of secondary education to the children inhabiting our rural districts has by no means been achieved. And in our great cities, in spite of efficient transportation systems, distance as a factor limiting educational opportunity cannot be disregarded. Perhaps, if it worked by itself, its effective influence would be much reduced; but it is usually working in conjunction with other forces, such as poverty, a dwarfed family tradition, or limited capacity. A problem which has thus far defied practical solution on a wide scale is that of making secondary education geographically accessible to all.

This brings us to the consideration of the third factor, the factor with which we are more particularly concerned. In the past secondary education has followed class lines. In theory the American people have abandoned this conception of education. In order to determine the extent to which this conception still prevails in practice, the writer has undertaken in recent years a study of the situation in four typical American cities, namely, Bridgeport, Connecticut; Mt. Vernon, New York; St. Louis, Missouri; and Seattle, Washington. In each of these cities the entire high school population was studied. Certain groups of children of high school age not in high school in Bridgeport and Seattle, the children of the sixth grade in Mt. Vernon, and the student populations of two private secondary schools, the Phillips-Exeter Academy and the University of Chicago High School, were also included in the investigation. With a view to determining the representation in these different groups of the various social classes data of a sociological nature were secured from each child. The major findings of this study may be summed up under the five conclusions to which attention will now be directed.

In the first place, *the student population of the public high school exhibits a large measure of social selection.* For the most part the children attending this institution are drawn from the more favored classes. The degree of selection varies from community to community and inversely with the proportion of children of secondary school age attending high school. In these industrial cities less than 30 percent of the students were drawn from the classes engaged in manual labor. By taking into account the representation of the different occupational groups in that portion of the adult population capable of having children of high school age, it was concluded that children whose fathers are engaged in professional service or as proprietors of business have more than twenty times the chances of attending the public high school that obtain for children of common labor parentage. In Bridgeport approximately 27 percent of the children attending the evening continuation classes had fathers engaged as common laborers, while the representation of this occupational group in the high school was under 2 percent. This first proposition is easily supported by data from many other sources.

In the second place, *in each succeeding year of the high school the student population becomes more highly selected.* The table below will make the point clear and also acquaint the reader with the occupational classification used in the study. In this table is given for each group the number of students in the senior year for every one hundred in the freshman year of the high school:

1.	Professional service	60.2
2.	Proprietors	48.2
3.	Commercial service	48.2
4.	Managerial service	46.2
5.	Clerical service	37.4
6.	Agricultural service	37.0
7.	Artisan-proprietors	30.5
8.	Printing trades	27.5
9.	Public service (no officials)	23.9
10.	Miners, lumber-workers, fishermen	22.6
11.	Building trades	22.4
12.	Personal service	21.9
13.	Transportation service	21.6
14.	Machine trades	20.6
15.	Miscellaneous trades (mech. & man. ind.)	18.1
16.	Common labor	12.4
	All occupations	37.2

Although a detailed explanation of this occupational classification is desirable, space permits but a word. The first five groups are strictly non-manual labor groups. The next two, agricultural service and artisan-proprietors, may be said to occupy that marginal area which separates manual from the other forms of labor. The second of these includes artisans, such as cobblers, machinists, and tailors, who own the shops in which they work. The nine groups beginning with the printing trades cover the various grades and varieties of manual labor. All individuals occupying official or managerial positions in any division of occupational activity, except proprietors, are placed in the fourth group. The major findings presented in the table are now clear. The very classes that are least well represented in the first year of the high school are yet more poorly represented in the last. Note the extremes. Whereas there are sixty seniors whose fathers are engaged in professional service to every one hundred freshmen of like parentage, the corresponding ratio for the children of common laborers is but twelve. And in general the order in which the sixteen occupational divisions are arranged reflects social and economic status. A comparison of the sixth grade in Mt. Vernon with the last year of the high school is yet more striking. The change in the representation of a single group in the schools of this city must suffice to reveal the strength of the selective forces in operation. In the sixth grade of the elementary school children whose fathers were engaged in the building trades constituted 16.5 percent of the entire enrollment, while in the last year of the high school they formed but .7 percent of the total.

In the third place, *the choice of curricula apparently is dictated in considerable measure by family circumstance.* In the differentiation of the program of studies class lines are reflected. Into those curricula which stand as terminal points in the educational system the children of labor parentage tend to go, while the children of the more favored classes are inclined to enter the curricula which look towards the higher education. And this tendency seems to be more pronounced among the girls than among the boys. The latter often break through class lines; the former usually recognize them. The following comparison will make the point clear. Of the 250 girls pursuing the college preparatory course in the Bridgeport high school 35.2 percent had proprietors for fathers and but 10.4 percent represented the nine laboring groups combined. In the commercial curriculum, on the other hand, with an enrollment of 613 girls the corresponding percent-

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ages were 13.2 and 45.5. Supporting data of a somewhat less striking character could be presented from each of the other cities.

In the fourth place, *according to the stated expectations of high school students a yet higher degree of social selection is exhibited in that group destined to enter the college.* Approximately 62 percent of the students from the professional service group were intending to go to college, while less than 15 percent of those of common labor parentage were looking towards the higher education. Furthermore, although more than 20 percent of the girls in the senior year of these high schools were drawn from the laboring classes, but 12.5 percent of the senior girls expecting to go to college came from these classes This tendency again is shown in less striking measure among the boys than among the girls.

In the fifth place, *the private secondary school of the type studied is quite distinctly a class institution.* Almost three-fourths of the students of Phillips-Exeter Academy and the University of Chicago High School had fathers engaged in professional service or as proprietors of business enterprise. But .3 percent of their students came from the manual laboring classes. The latter are practically without representation in schools of this character. Moreover, in social composition the populations of these two schools, differing markedly as they do in everything but the size of the tuition fee, were almost exactly the same. One comparison is especially significant. In the public high schools studied manual labor was represented by 29.1 percent of the student population. This difference between 29.1 and .3 gives us some measure of the contribution which the public high school has made towards the democratization of secondary education.

In conclusion it may be said that the ancient tradition of secondary education as class education, though repudiated in theory, is still reflected in practice. The establishment of the public high school was a great achievement, but it has not as yet included the equalization of educational opportunity among the classes. Beyond the age of economic self-support, since education means leisure and since leisure is costly, education remains in no small measure a function of family ambition and fortune. Through the social inheritance inequalities are thus passed on from generation to generation. In the struggle for the equalization of educational opportunity important battles have been won, but for the nation as a whole, the fight itself is only well begun.

GEORGE S. COUNTS.

Vocational Training in Secondary Schools

THE high schools of the United States have within their keeping the educational destinies of two million youths between the ages of twelve and twenty. These high school boys and girls are a highly selected group both as to mental ability and social status. In terms of the mental tests used by the army during the war, ninety percent of them will rank C-plus, or higher on the Alpha Scale, and eighty-five percent of them come from homes where the occupation of the father ranks as skilled labor or higher. The conclusion is at least tenable that from the ranks of these high school students will come the leadership for the affairs of tomorrow. As a nation, then, we have a right to be very greatly interested in the educational offerings of the fifteen thousand high schools of the land.

If we accept the definition of education as "preparation for complete living," the task of public education in a democracy is to train children for the forms of activity in which they must participate as children, youth and adults. There are a number of generally recognized fields of activity in which we all engage, more or less, from childhood to old age. Some writers point out as many as ten, others reduce the number to three distinct fields. For illustrative purposes six may be suggested: 1. Worthy home membership; 2. Health and physical well being; 3. Harmless enjoyment of leisure time; 4. Cultivation of ethical and religious ideals; 5. Participation in civic and social relationships; 6. Labors connected with making a living.

There are educational administrators who appear to think of education as preparation for an adulthood which is to be spent in the contemplation of the true, the beautiful and the good, and of vocation as a kind of necessary evil, of which the less said the better, and with preparation for which the school should have nothing to do. At the other extreme are those who put undue emphasis upon the preparation for vocational activity. They cannot conceive effective training for a life career as taking place under the same roof with general or academic training. They tell us that the old ship General Education is rotten and unseaworthy; that safety lies only in a new ship called Vocational Education, manned with an entirely separate crew.

Both of these views are narrow, therefore false. Life does not conform to either of them, neither should education. Life is an entity, although made up of a great many different interests and activities. Education, likewise, should be an entity, and should take account of the entire life that we must live as children, youth and adults. Education should recognize these life activities as concurrent, not serial, and should provide for simultaneous training in all of them. The child is engaged in home activities; it plays games which promote physical well being; it receives moral and religious instruction; it is a part of a social and civic order made up of parents, brothers and sisters, teachers and playmates; and it imitates the vocational activities of its elders. The youth and the man engage in activities which differ in degree but not in kind from those just mentioned as constituting the every day life of the child.

Each of these fundamental life activities has a body of knowledge, a set of skills and attitudes peculiar to itself, and to that extent requires specific training or instruction for its complete mastery. The processes by which we acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes essential to effective participation in these activities are educational processes, whether organized as formal instruction in a school or acquired by trial and error, imitation or a combination of different methods. It is therefore possible to speak as in actual practice we do, of Health Education, Civic Education, Religious Education, Household Arts Education, Vocational Education, etc. We do not mean,

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by applying these separate titles, that a given individual is receiving seven or eight different educations, but merely that his *education* consists of specialized training in a number of different activities, all of which are really essential to the living of a well balanced life.

There is, therefore, no warrant for placing general education and vocational education in opposition to each other, seeing that vocation is simply one of the important life activities for which specific provision must be made in any educational scheme which pretends to prepare a person for complete living. The tendency to set vocational education over against general education has arisen through the false assumption that vocation is an adult activity, all thought concerning which should be postponed until quite late in the adolescent period. This fallacy has given birth to another, which is that the public schools should be held responsible only for general or cultural education.

If, however, the analysis above attempted regarding the true significance of the term "education" is valid, it follows that the school should make provision for the gradual unfolding and maturing of the vocational interest, which is manifested at an early age in the manipulative or, so-called, instinct of workmanship,—as an integral part of, and not distinct from, general education. Since all of the fundamental life activities are engaged in simultaneously it should be apparent that all of the elements which go to make up a well rounded education should receive attention in each of the administrative units of the public school system,—kindergarten, elementary, high school and junior college.

The contribution of the kindergarten and elementary school to the vocational interests of life should be made in the form of knowledge about and the discovery of aptitudes for various forms of vocational activity. This can be accomplished through the subjects and with the equipment now available in any well organized, adequately supported public school system, without the addition of expensive machinery or equipment. The will to do it and an understanding of the ends to be achieved are prime factors.

Ideally, the function of the high school,—junior and senior,—would be that of continuing and carrying to completion the informational and aptitude discovery phases of vocational training, leaving the skills necessary to achieve success in the various occupations to be acquired in institutions of adult grade, or on the job in the vocations themselves. But the high school is confronted with a real situation which is far from the ideal.

According to the 1920 census there are in the United States 1,060,000 children ten to fifteen years of age, who are engaged in gainful occupations; 2,184,000 sixteen and seventeen year old youths, or fifty-seven percent of the total number of those ages, are either employed or not attending any school; 4,700,000 or eighty-five percent of the youths of the ages eighteen, nineteen and twenty, are either employed or not in any school. Here, then, is a great army of young people, over eight million strong, constituting about seventy-five percent of the adolescent youth of the country, most of whom have not been, and at present are not being, reached by our secondary schools.

One explanation of the relatively small number of youths who continue their education in the high school is that the character of the training is predominantly academic; that at a time when youth is thinking seriously of its possible life career, the high school offers nothing, either by way of information about occupations or in the form of training for specific occupations, which might attract and hold a larger percentage of them. This is illustrated by the fact that ninety-one percent of all high schools in this country are in rural or village communities, having less than five thousand inhabitants, and in these high schools we find seventy-eight percent of the pupils pursuing the academic curriculum, and only twenty-two percent pursuing any form of vocational curriculum. Again, the academic mindedness of high school principals and teachers, tends to create an attitude of aversion on the part of high school pupils to occupations outside of the "white-collar" class. This attitude has been brought out in numerous surveys of the vocational interests of high school pupils. Although only about five percent of the gainful workers in the country at large are engaged in professional occupations, sixty percent of the high school pupils are thinking of professional careers. Similarly, while the number of gainful workers engaged in business and clerical positions constitutes only seventeen percent of the whole, thirty percent of the high school students have ambitions along these lines. That is to say: Ninety percent of our high school boys and girls are ambitious to enter occupations which engage the energies of only twenty-two percent of the entire number of gainful workers. Obviously there will not be a sufficient number of "white-collar" jobs to go around.

The task, then, which confronts the high school administrator in this country today, is to mediate between the ideal and the actual in providing an all around education that will meet the needs not only of two million but of ten million young people between the ages of twelve and twenty. He must realize that for eighty-five percent of them, all formal schooling will have been completed by the time they reach the twentieth year. He must therefore reorganize his educational program so that provision will be made for worthwhile vocational information courses and aptitude exploration for all. For some, specific training of a nature to equip a person to carry on in a vocation, will need to be provided. For others, who will enter occupations for which the public cannot profitably maintain training courses, the high school must provide continuation courses, or part-time schools, where additional training in all the essential life activities may be carried beyond the point attained when full-time schooling comes to an end. For another group, and this will be the smallest group, courses preparatory to higher academic and professional training, must be maintained.

In addition to maintaining courses that will meet the needs of all classes of adolescent youths, i. e., those who go to work before completing high school, those who are able to complete high school but must then enter a vocation, and those who are able to go on to higher education,—the high school administrator must seek to adjust his own attitude and the attitude of his teachers to a new conception of secondary education. He must learn to think of it, not as preparation for college primarily, but as a vital segment in a system of training for complete living for all the youth who enter its halls. He must learn to think of secondary education as made for youth and therefore under the necessity of adapting itself constantly to the physical, social, civic, moral and vocational needs of youth. He will then be able to look upon education as an entity, and not as a duality in which vocational training is set over against general education. With this new perspective he will be able to provide a type of training that will fit the boys and girls of America for complete living.

WILLIAM MARTIN PROCTOR.

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A Job for Teachers' Organizations

IN thousands of towns and small cities of the country, the high schools are likely to be the most attractively situated of all public buildings. In the great cities the high schools are generally impressive in size, and often expensively equipped—adequate signs that the public regards them as institutions of importance.

But the care they receive is such that in a few years a school façade presents a neglected appearance. The interior also takes on the shabbiness generally characteristic of school buildings everywhere. For example, a survey of school buildings in the city of New York has shown that the façades of public schools, the surface presented to public view, has a more neglected, shabby appearance than have even the tenement houses in the same block. The citizens mean to be loyal to their sentiment of the importance of the public school, but the local government is always hard-pressed for money. Perennial neglect to provide the money results in small demands for needed repairs giving place to larger ones. The effect of almost complete neglect often is that a building is old after no more than fifteen to twenty years' use.

Since money for the schools is obtained with difficulty, the size of high school classes is bound to increase rapidly, especially in a great city like New York. When the limit of endurance has been passed, and some adjustment is imperative, school buildings are kept open during the full number of daylight hours, or from eight to five. The normal play time for children is thus wiped out as a definite possibility for all children. The long school hours give the opportunity for the administrative devices of part-time, double-sessions and triple-sessions—all of them really part-time plans. Even after the inauguration of part-time, the classes again fill up until in the city of New York the average size of high school classes is just under forty, with some classes containing as many as forty-five to fifty.

In the class work the standards of scholarship are maintained by a system of examinations and by other devices of compulsion. If a pupil cannot pass an examination the first year he undertakes it, he tries to pass it another year until perchance he succeeds, or until he changes his course, or leaves the high school altogether. The apparent assumption of those who are responsible for the system of examinations is that capacity and power are tested by what a pupil learns from books, and remembers. As applied to the activities of public high schools anywhere, this is about all that is meant by scholarship.

A great deal of very hard work is carried on to maintain a system of education that engages but a narrow range of a normal child's general ability. If a child cannot or does not adapt himself to learning by reading books, or by listening to teachers who give him information, the regular classical high school has no place for him, no matter how well the child might be able to learn by doing, if given a chance. In spite of the social waste involved, our school systems keep on drawing children into the machine, and later throwing them out, if nothing can be made of them on the pattern already devised and determined upon.

Even when we observe the children dropping out of school in great numbers because of the operation of a machine, our present-day type of educational mind does not exhibit a comprehending response. Consideration of these factors in the situation suggests the need of a civic or professional force that shall shake the dry bones of educational procedure and ideology into the realization of the fact that education is *life,* and not a system of mechanics. Even the ideas for reform now being considered by education departments bear the trade-mark of a machine. We hear little else from that source than the improvements to be expected from "mental-age" grading and the 6-3-3 plan of school organization.

While education departments are busy with their machines certain outside groups are shaping plans of their own. Among these outside agencies may be mentioned the National Security League, the American Legion, the Better America Federation of California (locally and ironically known as the "Betterites"), the Sons of the American Revolution, and the National Chamber of Commerce. All of these agencies, or the personalities who do their work, have had in mind very definite objectives which they expect to attain through the medium of the public school, and especially through the public high school. Those responsible for the conduct of high schools throughout the country have either not been strong enough to oppose meddling of this sort, or they have been willing that the schools should be used as rostra for the propaganda of favored interests. Since the World War more of these outside groups have forced their way into the high schools than ever before. All of them are working in the name of patriotism. But in reality their plea is a special one, with the final objective of staving off any change in the present social order that would interfere with their own privileges.

Not only have these outside agencies added to the burden of the subject-matter to be taught, but they have even paved the way to undermining the validity of much that the schools have already taught. The National Security League has secured the enactment of laws in twenty-two states requiring the teaching of the Constitution of the United States. An organization with this control should be able to have the Constitution taught in the schools in any manner it chooses. The "Betterites," for example, would have us teach that it is un-American, and disloyal to the Constitution, to urge the government to engage in business. "Business," says their pamphlet, America is Calling, which was to be distributed to the high schools of California, "is better conducted by private persons, and the Constitution protects the right of individuals to engage in business and to acquire profit honestly." The pamphlet goes on to say that our forefathers knew that the government should not engage in any business that could be done better by private persons. Municipal ownership thus, according to the Betterites, becomes a form of disloyalty. The Board of Education of the state of California was cruel enough to decide in 1921 that this pamphlet was "propaganda," and they stopped its distribution.

The Sons of the American Revolution want United States history taught so that the personalities of the American Revolution will appear without blemish, and so that all the battles, if at all possible, will be victories for our side. History of this type has already been approved by the legislature and the Governor of the state of Wisconsin, and came near winning out in the New York state

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legislature of 1923. It failed to win in New York, not because of any known opposition of departments of education, but because of the opposition of teachers themselves.

The public schools of the country are drifting without convincing leadership, encumbered by the useless baggage of outworn or destructive custom. To save these social institutions from utter futility a thoroughgoing revaluation of the work and the purposes of public education must be undertaken. This cannot be done without recourse to new leadership, and to the process of tapping fresh springs of social intelligence.

The writer believes that the needed inspiration can come only by way of such a form of "industrial democracy" as may be developed among the teachers themselves. The conditions that favor the development of such a movement may be stated briefly. Teachers have learned in the process of striving to win elemental demands, like better salaries and adequate pension allowances, that they can secure protection by forming organizations, and making the fight.

The growth of the teachers' council movement in the past ten years indicates that teachers are consciously seeking more than the improvement of economic conditions. They are seeking also to share in the work of improving the schools. The teachers' councils of New York, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Paul, and Washington are well known examples of a type of teachers' organization that is in a position to speak for all the teachers of the municipality. Not all the teachers' councils are democratically chosen, however. Some are even appointed by the educational authorities, and others are chosen by joint action of teachers' organizations of the usual type. But the movement is progressing in the direction of real democracy. Where all the teachers of the municipality participate in any activity involving their economic rights, they have taken a natural step toward engaging in a democratic movement to form an organization that shall deal with the welfare of public education. A good illustration of this point exists in the New York school system.

In 1916 a bitter fight took place between two factions of teachers and members of the supervising staff on the issues growing out of pension legislation. One faction composed chiefly of the younger teachers believed that the proposed legislation would benefit the older teachers, about to retire, at the expense of the younger teachers. The younger teachers were able to defeat the legislation. In 1917 the younger teachers were instrumental in having passed a law that seemed to them more just. In one section this law provides that three members of the governing board of seven shall be teachers, and shall be chosen by the teachers in annual election, one place on the board becoming vacant each year. The annual election is held in all the schools at the same time, and every teacher votes for the school delegates that go to the district convention. The district convention selects the delegates that sit in the municipal convention. The municipal convention finally selects the teacher to fill the position on the Retirement Board. At the present time there are twenty-nine thousand teachers and principals in the city of New York. All of them directly or indirectly participate in choice thus made. The generally satisfactory experience of the teachers in the pension elections constitutes one of the strong arguments now being advanced for the reorganization of the New York Teachers' Council on democratic lines.

The extent to which public school teachers demand the opportunity to participate in the determination of educational policies in democratically selected representative bodies may be taken as an indication of their desire to share in the responsibility for the work of the schools. Individually, few teachers want to share in this responsibility, but collectively a large number, at least, seem to want to do so.

Although it would appear most desirable that all the teachers in a public school system should join together in organizing a teachers' council that would embody the democratic spirit, and share in the administrative responsibility for the work the schools do, the objective cannot be attained through the council alone. If the teachers' council becomes reactionary, and is the sole dependence of a forward movement, the situation must remain without hope. The New York Teachers' Council steadily opposed the repeal of the Lusk School laws. If the public had been obliged to accept that fact as indicating the desires of the teachers of New York, we might still have the Lusk laws. There must be other support.

This needed support is now coming through the teachers' unions. Later, other organizations, not necessarily affiliated with organized labor at all, may take places in the progressive movement. At present, however, the common variety of teachers' organization is moving slowly, or not at all. The progressive organization must be depended on to make the intellectual connection, on the one hand, between social movements that are presenting programs for human betterment and, on the other hand, the public school systems as they afford opportunities for actually doing enlightened and effective service for children.

The progressive teachers' organizations are engaged in the process of analyzing public education. They try to make known the truth about the schools, wasting little time in placing responsibility, except to point out the fact that the responsibility is social. They may assail the political partisans who are incidentally responsible for the appointment of unfit persons to high official positions, but they know that large numbers of people regard such reward for partisan activity as fair.

The progressive teachers' organizations stimulate their members, and the members of other teachers' organizations, to keep up the demand that the higher positions in the school system shall be filled by persons equipped to do the work. To these aggressive organizations can be traced the running fire of criticism of selfish control in the school system, and in the teachers' council, or other official body. They disclose the activities of reactionary and self-seeking organizations that operate in the school systems, and they point out what is happening to the schools because of these influences.

These organizations encourage their members to inform themselves on the activities and the character of all social organizations. And they insist that the privilege of discussing the aims and activities of all organizations shall not be abridged because of official disapproval of the ideas involved. Out of the freedom gained through uncensored thought and speech these organizations expect teachers to prepare themselves for the real work of teaching. Similarly, they expect the children will be prepared for participation in the affairs of their country, as well as for efficient and happy living.

Some of these organizations are inquiring into the necessity of the whole scheme of compulsion in the public education system. They are asking themselves such questions as these: Must children be compelled to learn? Is the formal examination effective in establishing high standards of scholarship? Is the attainment of a high percent-

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age of passing marks as a school record worth what it costs in work, in worry,—and in honor? Is there a counterpart of the compulsion of public schools in any field of creative endeavor in human experience? Finally, they ask, since there are schools where children live happily, and grow in power, unaccompanied by the customary instruments of torture, is there any reason why public school systems should continue their ancient practices?

The hope of constructive change does not lie in the progressive teachers' organizations alone. Their inspiration is not self-started. It is derived from the stream of social consciousness that flows out of the general movement within the ranks of the workers, those who by striving to establish better conditions for themselves teach the lesson to all mankind.

HENRY R. LINVILLE.

What *Is* the High School Teacher's Job?

THE high school teacher who now and then feels a hankering to try her hand at a bit of English composition, or algebra, or history frequently finds that the teaching of her subject is coming to cover a more and more restricted area as her day's work. Having cooperated with the committee on Vocational Guidance, Medical Examination, Scholarships and Employment for Needy Students, and all the other agencies which in the last decade or two have become officially or semi-officially connected with the work of the public schools, she repairs to her class room, hoping against hope that today somehow she is going to do her bit to realize that faith which America has in education. But today's well-planned lesson must be laid aside, for the entire school is to hear a speech on Thrift from a representative of a well-meaning Rotary Club, which has come to believe that the way to national salvation lies in the direction of this important doctrine. Last week a recess had been declared for a demonstration on Fire-Prevention sponsored by an equally ardent and public-spirited group of citizens, and the week before that, there had been suspension of class work to make way for the Safety-First Crusaders. It was not long ago that the superintendent of schools had returned from a visit to Tuskegee where he had been deeply impressed by the straight shoulders and upright carriage of the pupils. Straightway a marching contest had been organized in the public schools of the city. On different days each school had been dismissed for an hour or two while, under the inspection of the school superintendent, the pupils paraded up and down the streets much to the edification of the teamsters and idle passers-by. But that was as far as that particular enterprise in the interests of erect carriage had ever gone.

But over the din of the school band and the socialized recitation, one can hear the demand to know just what is the high school teacher's job.

"It's your business," declared an irate parent who had been summoned to school for a consultation over the delinquencies of his son, "to learn my boy, to behave him, and to make him a success," which observation, though crude, expresses what the average American parent expects from the public school.

"Your job," says the Normal School in accents of those who have arrived at absolute values, "is to teach the boy and not the subject!" which generality, translated into terms of chemistry or Spanish or domestic science, leaves the teacher considerably at sea.

"The development of character should be the goal of all education," is another dictum hurled into the free-for-all which the field of education necessarily becomes in a democratic nation.

The cry "Education for Citizenship" booms louder and louder and has been increasing in volume, particularly since the war has made each of us prickly about the other fellow's duty to the state.

Although the serious-minded, dynamic teacher recognizes the value of thrift and safety-first, and fire-prevention and straight shoulders, to say nothing of all the other side-shows which enliven the educational program, she is beginning to wonder just what her job educationally is. She wonders just how much character and good citizenship can be generated by an educational system which is more and more rarely bringing the pupil face to face with the reality of a day's work honestly accomplished. What pupil is not taking a sporting chance with the day's assignment —when he can count on a clean-up campaign, or a military drill, or an intelligence test to interpose itself between him and the hour of reckoning! A truly socially-minded youth who was having great difficulty during his freshman year at college in establishing habits of study, told me that of two hundred possible school days, he had spent, while in high school, exactly eighty-five in the class room. He had been officially "excused" from his school duties for participation in those various activities which are expected to make the student conscious of his service to the community.

This case is, without a doubt, extreme, but it illustrates the direction in which the modern high school is going, particularly in the large cities. How many of us would be willing to submit our bodies to the care of a physician who had applied to Community Service eighty-five of the two-hundred days allotted to the study of anatomy? Is the community willing to submit its bridges, its plumbing, its water supply to engineers and plumbers and chemists who in the name of Community Service are substituting participation in pageants and clean-up campaigns and national picture weeks for work in the shop or in the laboratory? The teacher knows that many a school activity in its abuse, becomes an excellent medium for training in the American sport of "getting by." She wonders whether the "all-around" pupil of the high school isn't becoming the "derelict of the college" or the busybody of the community who works at everything but what is included in his own job.

And what of cultural values, she dares to ask, although she is aware that it is as easy to get a laugh on formal grammar or quadratic equations as on the mother-in-law. The scoffer needs only to invoke the phrase "Dry husks of academic learning" and with an expansive flourish blare some vague generality about "Slaves to tradition" or "Training for life," and the attempt to induce a student to pursue a line of thought in the direction of its ultimate

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conclusion, is effectively damned. One wonders whether in this huge aggregation of youngsters who in the Public Speaking class are "putting across" the latest brands of soap chips and World Courts, with equal glibness and dispatch, there are many who are learning to make real judgments. Between the demands of Business English and Oral Expression, is there opportunity for the youth who would, if given a chance, lend himself unreservedly to the charm of poetry? Is the Louis Pasteur of the future being permitted to exercise undisturbed his scientific curiosity?

A recent writer in a school journal complains that it is difficult to find civic purpose in the Latin, the algebra, the rhetoric, the bookkeeping, and the science work of the high schools he has visited. Is it not possible, that, measured even by the aims of civic purpose, the old cultural values with their emphasis on mental discipline are more effective than the diffused pedagogic devices of the present? We grant the wisdom of substituting a current political document for the traditional Burke On Conciliation, but the implications of the Versailles Treaty cannot be mastered by the citizen who has never bent his mind purposefully to unravelling the meaning of sentences. And as industrial controversy passes from the era of speech-making to that of negotiation, the employer and the business-agent of the future will have to grapple with such realities as compound fractions and cost-of-living curves. Many a "dry husk" will have to be masticated by the future citizen who is to bring his gifts of learning to the altar of public service.

The educational journals are having a good deal to say, too, about "The Public Contacts of the Teacher." It is through the teacher's contact with the world of reality that she is to vitalize her teaching, and so the teachers have gone in for the contacts. There are affiliations, formal and informal, with Women's Clubs, Rotary Clubs, Associations of Commerce, and Federations of Labor. One city administration reeling under the load of a huge deficit in its educational fund, granted leaves of absence to its teachers so that they might lobby in the state legislature for increased appropriations. The lid is off! The teacher is emerging from her almost convent-like existence. But how far will she be allowed to go? What if in giving up the vow of retirement she begins to chafe, too, at her vows of poverty and obedience? Moreover her contacts with reality are of necessity being reflected in her teaching. Obviously the current school board scandal is a better teaching point than are the misappropriations of Miltiades.

The teacher has been urged "to form favorable contacts with the public at the white-hot, human-interest points." It is only in educational systems "developed in autocracies," she is assured, that it is unsafe for teachers "to think on things that really matter." It remains to be seen whether under democratic tyrannies it is going to be safe to teach public service in the light of contemporary graft. Then, too, what of the conflicting aims of the Association of Commerce and the Federation of Labor? Where does wisdom lie? Having made her choice, the teacher is apprehensive, too, lest she be unable to steer her bark safely between the rocks of propaganda and hold her course well within the current of truth.

Truly, the high school teacher's job educationally has become a complex and bewildering problem. In the past decade or two, the high school has escaped that sterility which comes from the lack of vital contacts. Is it the job of the up-to-date teacher to save it now from degenerating into a legitimate dumping-ground for every public-spirited citizen's enthusiasms? Can she render this service best by urging a return to more rigid scholastic standards, or can she find a process of vitalization whose by-products are not diffuseness and confusion? Time was, when college entrance requirements were conjured up as a last resort to maintain standards of scholarship. We have been priding ourselves, however, on the fact that for the past generation "we have at last emancipated the high schools from the college." Will the task of determining the high school curriculum devolve again upon the college, made assertive by the thousands who are clamoring for admission, and who are being turned away because the high school does not prepare them adequately?

Long ago, the high school teacher abandoned the notion that her task was purely academic. More and more emphasis is coming to be laid upon the social and personal aspects of her job. It is almost a truism that everybody's child goes to the high school. Whereas twenty-five years ago only the gifted child of the well-to-do parents came, today the child of the laundress and the child of the junk-peddler are coming with the son of the banker and the professional man. Young America besieging the high school offers a social problem of considerable complexity and magnitude. In most high schools the social function has been placed under the supervision of one particular teacher known in some schools as the Dean of Girls. The social needs, however, have become so many and so varied, that class room teachers are also pressed into this service. With clubs to be sponsored, and dances to be chaperoned, and parties to be planned, it rarely happens that a lay-teacher escapes without the addition of one of these tasks to her teaching program.

Even in so specific function as the social life, the teacher is aware of conflicting aims. In one school the stress is laid upon the importance of social amenities; in another, the environmental needs of the pupils are permitted to determine the nature and scope of the social activities. Insistence upon fine points of etiquette must seem remote and grotesque to the child struggling with the burdens of poverty, and there is, of course, always the danger that the social work of the high school may degenerate into the trivialities and taboos of the "lady principal" of the old-time boarding school. But perhaps, after all, if the high schools pretend to prepare the pupil for realities of life, the salad fork is an exigency with which the teacher should concern herself. Moreover, are we not more likely to lessen the exaggerated importance of the social code and give it its proper place in the scheme of life if we make the rules of social usage the common knowledge of all?

There is nothing particularly new about the personal phase of the teacher's job. It permeates all her contacts with her pupils. And there were teachers who got into personal touch with their students long before the subject began to trickle into the discussions of teachers' institutes and pedagogic journals. There have always been teachers with the eye to discern and the will to help the pupil struggling with the burden of straitened circumstances, ill health, or adverse home conditions. To these teachers, have come, from time to time, the boy who needed to be reconciled to the new step-mother; the girl with educational aspirations beyond the family's purse or vision; the youngster who had to leave school because Father had lost his job.

And just when we have gathered into our high schools the children from almost every walk of life, and when,

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therefore, the personal contact is of special importance, the mania for larger and larger schools is rendering association of teacher and pupil less and less possible. And in order to accommodate the increasing numbers, come the "shifts" which threaten to become a permanent institution. For the mother of several children, the shift system means continual preparation of meals throughout the day. For the pupil, with the freedom from supervision both at home and at school, it means great temptation and more opportunities to stray from the path. For the teacher, it means more machinery interposed between herself and the pupil. The case of a thirteen year old child is discussed and his fate determined by brief notes hastily written by one teacher between classes, and read by another at the close of a nerve-racking day. There is no time for personal conference between teacher and teacher, let alone teacher and pupil. Like many another pernicious doctrine, the agitation for shifts has been able to declare itself with fine sounding slogans. "Keep the schools open all the time," "Don't let the school plant lie idle," have the ring of democracy and efficiency which catch the unwary. A high school boy of foreign birth put the case tersely: "When I was in the old country, I used to hear how in America everybody went to school, the tailor's boy in the same school with the banker's and the doctor's. And it thrilled me. Now I am here, I see it is true. The tailor's boy does go to school with the banker's and the doctor's, but I wonder if any of us is learning much. It is all so big and noisy and quick-moving."

And so it has become possible in a large school for a boy of fifteen to lose both his parents in the course of his high school life and to put himself through school while he struggles with the burden of supporting three younger brothers and sisters—without the knowledge, let alone the sympathy and help of his teacher. It is possible to conceal from the parents of a district and the teachers of a school that a boy was shot in rifle practice in the military department where real army guns had been placed in the hands of inexperienced boys. It is possible for the most worthwhile boys and girls to impair their health and their future usefulness by working their way through school at jobs much too difficult. It is possible for more fortunate boys and girls to slip through school with no sense of responsibility—happy, carefree loveable youngsters with genuine potentialities for service and the highest duties of citizenship, because too much machinery and red tape and routine have been allowed to come between them and the teachers who might have given those youthful spirits fruitful direction.

And all the time the schools are getting bigger and bigger; the sideshows are increasing in number; the aims of education are getting new definitions, and all the while every one looks to the public school of America as the grand saviour of our national civilization. From platform and pulpit and press comes the warning that on all sides governments are falling and industrial systems are crumbling; and it is the supreme duty of the teacher to save the nation from the impending disaster. LILLIAN HERSTEIN.

Moral Discipline in the High School

IN the high school there should be taught three kinds of discipline, viz.: physical, mental, and moral discipline. This article will deal with the third kind—moral discipline.

In the high school today there is, unfortunately, little or no moral discipline. Doubtless the pupils acquire from their studies and from their daily routine a few ideas of right and duty. But they do not receive systematic, definite training in virtue.

Such systematic and definite training in virtue should arise naturally from the life of the school community. To introduce the pupils to the cardinal virtues by forcing upon them some acquaintance with scriptural passages, and then to conclude that their moral training has been sufficiently attended to, is patently absurd. The entire school should be so organized and managed that the student is everywhere confronted with the plausibility, the organic necessity of ethical conduct.

There is no denying that evils exist in the high school. Loafing, lying, stealing, cheating, together with offences of a graver nature, are not uncommon. These evils should be recognized frankly. It is impossible to bring together two thousand young people, or adults, for the matter of that, and not find among them some black sheep. By trying to hush up offences, as school authorities frequently try to do, nothing is gained. From such evasion there often results serious harm. Offences should not be ignored—they should be grappled with in a firm, sane, kindly way.

(1) Take loafing, for instance. Loafing has become chronic in the schools. The maximum credit for the minimum of work is, consciously or unconsciously, the motto of a large proportion of high school pupils. These boys—for it is usually the boys who are the greatest offenders—frequently remain in high school five or six years. When they are finally graduated on dubious waivers by the desperate authorities, who know not how else to dispose of them, these loafers enter our complex industrial life knowing nothing that is of any value. Many of them continue to loaf after they have left school, and as a result of trying to make a living without working, they land in the penitentiary.

What can be done to eradicate loafing from the high school? In the first place, a definite *limit* should be placed on loafing. No pupil should be allowed to repeat a subject more than once, unless his failures be due to illness or to some equally unavoidable circumstance.

In the second place, some intelligence should be exercised in the matter of curricula. It is of the utmost importance that the student's ability and natural bents be carefully explored, in order that he may be assigned those subjects from which he is fitted to profit most. One of the chief causes of loafing is the careless assignment of subjects, an assignment which takes no reckoning of the student's individualities and aptitudes. When a student enters high school, his parents and teachers should meet in council, discuss the mental character and disposition of this particular boy or girl, and decide on a tentative program of study. Such a procedure is not impracticable. In all high schools there is supposed to be operative a system of advisers, each adviser having in charge a small group of pupils whom he is supposed to direct in the formulation of programs

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of study. But as the system works out, the adviser usually feels that he is acquitted of all responsibility when he has helped his advisees into certain ready-made programs. Is there any reason why advisers cannot be real advisers? Is there any reason why advisers cannot search out the peculiar qualities of those whom they have in care, and make the program fit the boy or girl?

In the third place, suspension as a punishment for those loafers whom intelligent persuasion has left unregenerate should be made a true punishment. It should be protected scrupulously from political intercession. Suspension as practiced today in our schools is usually a farce. If the parents of a suspended pupil happen to have fortunate political relations, they find it a simple matter to force a reinstatement over the principal's protest. Many an unfortunate principal has been thus humiliated. After a few experiences of this nature he finds discretion the better part, and ceases trying to exercise his veto in the face of intransigent powers. The result of such a condition is that the student body is demoralized. Suspension must be made a true punishment. A pupil is suspended only after teachers and principal have exhausted all means at their command to induce him to work. Once he has been suspended, upon no condition should he be allowed to reenter school until the teachers and principal agree that he should be afforded another chance. A third suspension should lead automatically to expulsion. After the public school has made due effort to reform the loafer and has failed, his parents should be compelled to resume full responsibility for his training. It is the parents of the chronic loafer who are largely responsible for his shiftlessness. The taxpayers should not be burdened indefinitely with his maintenance. But so long as board members and higher officials are allowed to wield their powers dishonestly and thus neutralize the authority of teachers and principal, so long will chronic loafing in the high school continue.

(2) The more serious evils complained of, i. e., lying, stealing, cheating, and personal vice, can be rooted out of the school only by the vigorous cooperation of parents, teachers and principal, and board members and higher officials.

Because the high school is not a reformatory, immorality should not be an entrance requirement. Fond parents who condone their boy's offences, and wish to turn him over to the school in order to shirk their own duties, should be taught a lesson in parental responsibility. Such a lesson they can best be taught by a point-blank refusal on the part of the school authorities to tolerate delinquency beyond a certain point. If due efforts on the part of the school authorities to correct the boy have met with no success, and if the parents concerned are powerless, or unwilling to discharge their social obligations, then the boy becomes a fit subject for special treatment by the Juvenile Court or some similar agency. The high school cannot be burdened with youthful criminals. For when teachers and principal are forced to waste their time in fruitless efforts to discipline and reform the small percentage of incorrigible ones, it means that the interests of the majority, say ninety-five percent, of the high school population are suffering.

(3) The high school should train young people not only for business, but for *social life* as well. If we who are high school teachers feel sometimes that our pupils think of little else but amusement, we should remember that this desire for amusement is quite natural, quite legitimate, and highly desirable. Heaven knows that these young people will have trouble and sorrow enough in later life! Let them enjoy themselves while they may,—while the exuberance of youth is running high. Only too soon will this exuberance wane, to be superseded by weariness and the heavy monotony of maturer days. The school should contribute to youthful joy, it should induce in the student a social power which may serve him in later life. Attendance at the movies, at dances, and at social clubs, the school should encourage rather than condemn. Many high school officials, most of them perhaps, regard the school fraternities and sororities with hostility, and to their influence attribute every failure made by a student connected with a social organization. But these officials do not condemn college fraternities, and as for golf clubs, those of them who are not members are probably enrolled on the waiting list. Why should a distinction be made between the high school club and the country club or the college fraternity? The social instinct is every bit as strong in youths as it is in older people. Neither in youth nor in older people should it be suppressed. Always it should be developed.

Nevertheless, school officials have persisted in their efforts to do away with social organizations which have arisen among their pupils. In more than one state the Supreme Court has ruled that the Board of Education has no right to suppress these clubs, nor to inflict special penalties upon the members. Without pausing to defend the right of high school fraternities and sororities to flourish (personally I have always felt that regulation of such clubs would be better than suppression), I insist that if they are taboo, other agencies should be fostered by the school for the purpose of promoting the social life of the young. Especially in those schools in which the authorities are opposed to the more formal organizations, the most inadequate facilities are provided for encouraging social intercourse. As a result of such a condition, many are the students who detest school; they regard it as a form of prison; when they leave it they rejoice. If principal and teachers took greater interest in the social life of their young wards, they could make their school a place not utterly without charm; an esprit de corps would develop, and the intellectual efficiency would be heightened.

One must admit, however, that the numerous social activities of the youth of today do interfere with the serious school work. In this matter again, parental cooperation is essential. Many parents do cooperate; they forbid their children to make social engagements on "school nights," and they insist that in every particular school work take precedence over diversion. Almost always the successful students are those whose parents have exerted this necessary restraint. Almost always the unsuccessful students are those whose parents have failed to exert this restraint. These latter, constituting a good-sized minority in the average school, are the ones who make this matter of social life an official "problem."

(4) The high school should train for *democracy*. One of the gravest charges now brought against the high school is that it does not train for citizenship as effectively as it should train. In this charge there is considerable truth. In many schools, to be sure, courses in citizenship are given. But in many others such courses do not form part of the curriculum. In every high school economics and civics should be emphasized, and courses in both of them required for graduation. Formal instruction of this kind is not sufficient, however, to ensure good citizens. The pupils must be drilled in the *practice* of civic virtues and obligations. How may they be thus drilled? *By organ-*

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izing the school on a cooperative basis. Too many teachers and school officials are autocrats. Jealous of power, they fear to delegate power. They do everything for the pupil; they allow him to do nothing for himself. Thus they are enervating him morally.

In the management of the school the pupils should be allowed to cooperate. Pupil government, if by the term is meant the complete turning over of the management of the school to the pupils, may not be desirable. It has been tried in both grammar and high schools with varying results. But in any case, greater cooperation between officials and pupils is absolutely necessary. It may be contended that under the system which obtains today we have such cooperation. But it is a forced cooperation, limited in extent. What I have in mind is a greater and truer *democratization* of schools. How can the school community teach democracy effectively when it is itself an undemocratic community in which the pupils are barred from power, in which everything is decided for them and nothing by them?

Just how the cooperative system should be organized in the particular school must be determined by the particular conditions there found. The supreme desideratum is the granting of real power to pupils. Too much supervision and control on the part of the principal and teachers will kill the whole undertaking. The boys and girls will positively refuse to be the tools of the faculty and do its bidding. But if given certain definite work and power to do it, they will discharge their obligations. There are always strong leaders in a high school. They love power and love to do things, and if properly instructed and guided they will render substantial service to the school. No doubt about it! Experience proves it. Of course, teachers and principal must cooperate with the pupils. Young people, like older people, will necessarily make mistakes. They need counsel and help. While principal and teachers must not dictate to the pupil officers, committees, and councils, it is necessary that they work with them. The vast majority of high school pupils have correct ideas. They will condemn lying, cheating and stealing with as great severity as their elders would condemn such evils. Not to use in the management of the school their intelligent and sympathetic aid, is positively criminal.

The honor system is an organic part of the cooperative plan. If it be said that in certain schools and colleges the honor system has failed, one may reply that without exception these failures can be traced to defective management. Not the system itself, but the administration of the system has been deficient. The officials in charge have failed to impress the students with the obvious dependence of the system upon a particular kind of moral courage. They have not shown the necessity for courageously reporting all offenders in point of honor. Once the pupils have come to feel that there is a profound difference between "snitching" and reporting offenders, that the one is mere tattling to cause trouble, while the other is the performance of one's duty as a member of a democratic community, the honor system will work. The importance of developing and maintaining a high esprit de corps must be driven home by every available means. The pupils must be taught that as they will be called upon in after life to testify in court against those who violate the civil and criminal laws, so they must testify, when necessary, against violators of the moral laws in school. Only in this way can we develop true democracy and honor in the young.

Here, then, assembled under four headings are sundry recommendations for improving the moral discipline in the high school. It is not supposed that these recommendations are exhaustive, or that they have been developed with an acute dialectic. If they have aroused thought, they have satisfied the present purpose. H. S. T.

The Parent and the Grade Adviser

FROM some points of view, it may be said that the school is the least democratic of American institutions. The members of the community who have the most direct interest in school matters are taxpayers and parents, but, in the general administration of schools, neither is represented. Taxpayers are notoriously preoccupied; parents, who are much nearer the problem, show a surprising indifference to school affairs. Even if indifference were overcome, the school would continue to deny to both groups representation in the working out of most school problems. The drowsiness of parents, particularly, has left the schools free to experiment and not necessarily to reach conclusions; to devise policies and use the school to carry them out; to adopt and reject plans willy-nilly, and no one investigates what is done because the school says to the world: "Do not question me because I know and you do not." Within the circle the school builds around itself, there is a code of procedure that may very conceivably be ingrowing. Some things in schools could be improved if we took part of that circle and made it a doorway for the entrance of other points of view.

The parent is the logical outside force to be introduced into high school affairs. Practically all the decisions of what shall be done with the child's life are made in the secondary school period; shouldn't the parent have a voice in the decisions? The greatest objection to listening to these voices is that parents are not informed, but there is a representative number of them who are educable. The only real questions are just what problems of the high school should interest fathers and mothers and how the school may provide for parent cooperation.

The present tendency is to assign students to classes on the basis of mental capacity. Uniform examinations determine the classes into which students shall go, in groups representing more than average ability, average ability and subnormal ability. The purpose of such grading is to enable teachers to deal with students, bearing in mind their weaknesses or strength. In high school, the student may show exceptional ability in one subject and great weakness in another; the grading would so classify him as to develop his prowess in the one and overcome his deficiencies in the other.

What interest has the parent in this grading system? Some parents are antagonistic toward it because they believe it destroys the democracy of education. Any open recognition that Mary is not as brilliant as other students of her class conveys to some parents an idea of discrimination which is destructive of the free-for-all-on-the-same-

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basis spirit of the public school. Nothing could be more erroneous than this attitude. Democracy signifies equality of opportunity, but none of us in our wildest dreams of democracy have believed that "all men were created equal" in intellectual endowment. Despite grading, the equality of opportunity is still there; only the use of opportunity is changed. Recognition of weakness carries with it no stigma, but rather such recognition is turned into increased advantage for the student. Mothers and fathers restrain their sons and daughters from taking part in football or basketball because of heart weaknesses or other physical disabilities, and they are not ashamed to look these facts in the eye; they are justly proud of their wisdom in making allowances. They should meet the truth of diverse mental abilities in the same way.

The logical outcome of graded instruction must be graded graduation. Parents must accept this, too, without any feeling that great injustice is being done their children. Unless, at the time of graduation, we give credit for superior talent and also frankly acknowledge ability to do the least possible with our courses, we shall be confronted by an unfortunate lowering of standards. The rub will be graduating the poorest student with the same honors as the brilliant. A normal high school diploma represents an accepted standard of work. If we were to graduate, in the same status, those who continuously did the least possible amount of work to pass successive grades, our diploma would soon represent much poorer preparation than it now does. This is certainly to be avoided. Colleges at present have graded graduation—a degree, or a degree cum laude, or magna cum laude, and the question of democracy never enters into the arrangement at all.

Grading has come to stay. The task of making grading and graded graduation acceptable to all is, after all, a matter of names. In a certain New York high school, where both academic and manual courses are given, it was discovered that a group of colored students were obviously not fitted for academic study, so they were transferred to classes in domestic science. Parents soon visited the school in protest, saying they were not sending their daughters to school to become domestics. When the course was re-named "Home Economics," it was joyfully elected, because "home" is certainly pure and holy and "economics" is so high sounding it must be all right! If we could strike happily upon the names for the grades of graduation, as: "graduation," "graduation with merit," and "graduation with honors," there would be no difficulty in having the situation generally accepted. This is a necessary step for the defence of our present standards in high school; the alternative is diluting the course until it represents half of its present worth.

An unfortunate idea has gotten abroad that grading means time-saving. The object is not to skip grades, but to increase the content of courses so that more, not less, will be accomplished. To send a brilliant student through school more rapidly than a less gifted student is to give the brilliant no better training than we give the mediocre. Greater capacity deserves more food to make it grow; a starving man might better have two normal meals than one gormandizing. Whatever its defects or its undreamed-of possibilities, grading is a policy that keeps the child prominently in view, and this alone should win parents to its favor.

Another subject of vital interest to parents is what is taught. A choice of course made early in the high school life of the student frequently predetermines what the student shall become. At present, for instance, a student may destroy the possibility of ever entering college for an A. B. degree by the mere election of a commercial course. At the end of the first year in high school, students are encouraged to choose certain subjects for special study. This choice marks an important decision; if French is chosen, it may open an easy way to higher education; if chemistry is chosen, it may cause the student untold difficulties later on, depending on what use he wishes to make of the courses. There is altogether too indifferent an attitude toward the choice of these subjects. Students themselves do not wholly grasp why the decisions have to be made or where they will lead, and little effort is made in the schools to make students take a sensible long view of their lives. Consequently, they often finish high school in that regretful state of mind that looks back on what might have been. The parent has, or should have, as much interest in moulding the individual as the school has. The school stands at the cross-roads knowing where all the paths lead; a wise word to the parent would distribute the traffic so that all would arrive at destinations that are desired, not destinations that are make-shifts accepted because the choice of roads has unfortunately wasted time.

One of the worst features of the present crowded high school conditions and double sessions is the lack of contact between teacher and child. Hundreds of boys and girls slip through schools every year and their teachers know little about them personally and still less about their plans. When schools were on single session, programs were arranged so that each class spent half to three-quarters of an hour every day with an official teacher or prefect. Nominally, such periods were for study purposes, but their real function worked itself out in the teachers' study of individuals. There was time to explain the course of study and how to use it, there was time to discuss future occupations and activities, there was time for special help in subjects that gave a student difficulty, there was time for a personal influence on the part of the teacher which made a child feel that school was interested in something more than administering a dose of prescribed learning.

Overcrowding has changed all that. No individual teacher has time for this personal contact; the most that is known about many of the students is a hated clerical record that shunts them into some convenient school pigeon-hole. The half hour has been replaced by a hurried ten minutes or less, all devoted to taking attendance and making announcements. When the class has speeded through the program, it is shooed out of the building as rapidly as possible. And in the shuffle we have lost the priceless gem of something personal that passes between teacher and pupil.

Somewhere in the school there must be a person who will give to the parent needed information, and to the child, a personal interest. That person is already functioning under the title of "dean" or "grade adviser." Teachers acting in this capacity are relieved of some periods of teaching every week to carry on this work. They supervise anywhere from one hundred to eight hundred students depending upon the size of the school. When a class enters high school, the grade adviser is assigned to look after the programs, to handle unusual disciplinary cases, to confer with failing students and to plan any social life the class may have. The latter is extremely limited in double session schools, the arrangement usually being that social activity is saved until senior year when

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the grade adviser, who has carried the class through the eight terms of the course, helps to plan the entertainment. If a student intends to enter college, he consults the grade adviser who tries to help him to matriculate, but this part of the work is by no means adequately handled. The adviser has to take care of a much larger group than the official teacher ever did; frequently the time allowance is not sufficient and the work degenerates into the mere keeping of scholarship records. This is a sad perversion of all that the grade adviser might mean.

Mere size of school will cost enormously if we lose sight of the child. A large program committee finds the option card of Mary Jones lacking in an elective subject. No one on the committee knows Mary Jones, so she is assigned to Spanish because there are fewer students electing it than any other subject. Protest may later adjust this and it may not, but this is too important a matter to leave to chance. The grade adviser, knowing Mary Jones, should have worked all this out beforehand, on the basis of what Mary wanted for certain sound reasons of which the program committee has no knowledge. Ella Smith, in the senior class, has taken a Home Economics course and now she wants to go to college. She speaks to her two favorite subject teachers but they do not know either what Ella has studied in four years or what Wellesley requires for entrance. Only the grade adviser who has followed Ella's career can furnish the necessary advice. Tom Richards hates mathematics but he enjoys chemistry and has performed a number of interesting extra experiments. He passes his mathematics and those who do not know his tastes perfunctorily assign him to continue mathematics when he can just as well satisfy requirements with his beloved chemistry. He needs a grade adviser who knows him to rescue him from the machinery of just putting him through school.

We must come to look upon the grade adviser's time as an investment that goes on paying interest all through the lives of the students she supervises. When a class assembles for the first time, the grade adviser should explain the course of study and the ideals of the school. The parents of these students should be present at the same or a subsequent meeting to receive the same information. It ought to be possible for grade advisers to have office hours for consultation about individual problems and to interview parents whenever necessary; to be automatically members of the program committee present when the programs of their classes are being made; to represent students in all school meetings where the policies of the school are discussed; and to spend some time in seeking personal acquaintance with students. When decisions as to electives are made, advisers should explain certainly to the student and to the parent, where necessary, the significance and possible consequence of the choice. We must provide for students one official to whom they may go with reasonable assurance of interested direction. If this takes more time than is at present allotted, we must allow more; if a grade needs two or three advisers, we must supply them. When it is objected that this will take too much time and cost too much, we must remember that, in our attention to numbers, we have taken away an influence without which schools are not successful. No price is too high to pay for saving schools from too great semblance to the Spartan army.

AGNES M. CONKLIN.

The Rural High School

THERE is no generally accepted definition of what constitutes a rural high school. The use of the term is sometimes restricted to the high school located in the open country and removed from immediate village and city influences. The definition may properly be broadened to include the schools that furnish most country youth with their high school training. Such schools will most frequently be found in small village and city centres.

A recent survey of rural high schools in New York State showed that at the time of the study there were in the state 607 public high schools in places of less than 4,500 population.* Over 70 percent were located in centres of less than 1,000 population. These schools were drawing over one-third of their enrollment from one- and two-teacher schools. This type of high school located in the small centre of population is numerically the outstanding feature of our secondary school system. The report of the United States Bureau of Education for 1917-18 contains data that indicate this to be the case. This condition is not due primarily to the presence of this type of school in the more recently settled portions of the country. A survey of the schools of Indiana made in 1922 showed that there were 662 high schools offering four-year curricula.† Of these one-third enrolled each not to exceed 50 pupils, approximately three-fifths enrolled each 75 pupils or less and nearly three-fourths had an enrollment each of 100 pupils or less. The New York State study previously referred to showed that of the total 607 high schools, classified as rural, 54.5 percent had each an enrollment of less than 50 pupils and more than four-fifths had each an enrollment of less than 100. These data constitute adequate basis for the generalization that the means for providing secondary school privileges for rural children centre largely in high schools of limited enrollment located in the small centres of population.

In recent years this type of school has been brought into the limelight by the fact that this country has reached a level of schooling high enough so that it is futile to discuss equality of educational opportunity unless good secondary school privileges are reasonably available to rural youth. Good elementary schools are of basic importance but when the high school organization is extended so as to include grades seven and eight, recognition must be given to the fact that in providing adequate educational facilities for rural communities the high school is today the most important consideration.

What should be the character of the education that this school provides for rural communities? Frequently rural schools, more especially the high schools, are criticized as being responsible for the urbanization of our population that has taken place so rapidly in recent decades. The speaker who in public address roundly censures the rural

* Rural Survey of New York State: The Rural High Schools.

† Public Education in Indiana.

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high school because its graduates leave the rural community, is almost certain to receive a hearty round of applause. The view that the rural school system should be a means of stemming the movement from country to city permeates much of the professional and semi-professional treatment of education for rural communities. One of the baldest of these statements was the report made by an observer of a consolidated school. In his opinion this school has attained the ideal for a rural school because in it "the children soon learn that they are indigenous to the soil, here they must live and die." Fortunately, in spite of its prevalence, the vicious doctrine has not been generally held.

Apparently this view has its origin in one fact and a fallacious assumption; the "decline" in rural population and the conclusion that it was an evil. According to the federal census for 1880, 71.4 percent of our population came under the rural classification. By 1920 the percentage had decreased to 48.6. In the interpretation of these facts it should be borne in mind that for the country as a whole there has not been a decrease in the number constituting the rural population. In the period from 1910 to 1920 there was a marked increase in the proportion of our population living under urban conditions, but during this decade there was an increase of 5.4 percent in the rural population. During this interval the urban population increased 25.7 percent. This has been a fairly constant characteristic of our population in growth and is due primarily to two economic forces that have been operative.

1. The introduction of farm machinery has greatly reduced the amount of human labor necessary to produce specified amounts of farm products. The result is that in spite of the so-called "decline" in rural population the physical production of farm products has at least kept pace with the increase of our total population.

2. Occupational and geographical division of labor has also stimulated the movement cityward. A hundred years ago farms were practically self-sufficing. In that interval a large range of activities has been transferred from them to centres where the desired products can be more economically manufactured or a better standardization secured.

This necessarily brief statement should make evident from an economic viewpoint how unsound is the view that country schools should attempt by a type of education to retain children in the country because it happens to be their place of birth. It must be quite as evident from a social standpoint that it would be unfortunate to use the schools as a means of fixing distinctions based on occupation or social standing. Both society and individual will be served best when education assists each pupil to find the field of social service that he by nature is best qualified to render and provides for him the most effective preparation for that service.

When one considers the studies that have been made of the work of the rural high school he is forced to the conclusion that when it dealt with the problems presented to it a generation ago in preparing a selected few for higher education the results were fairly satisfactory. Today these schools are faced with a much more complex situation due to the ever increasing proportion of rural children looking forward to high school education. The propaedeutic function must not be lost to sight but this is not adequate. These schools must also give the basic training fundamental to life in either country or city as well as provide guidance. Within limits they must also offer opportunity for some specialized forms of education.

There are few rural high schools in which these objectives are being realized. Instead one finds that tradition has been a powerful force in imposing on the small high school a burden that makes it impossible for it to realize adequately the suggested ends. One of the concrete embodiments of this tradition is the entrance requirements of colleges and universities. The result is an undue proportion of attention devoted to such formal subjects as mathematics and foreign languages, especially Latin. Dr. Ferriss in a study of 184 rural high schools of New York state found that on the average in those schools pupils devoted more than one-fifth of their time to the study of foreign languages and that nearly three-fourths of this time was given to Latin. In those same schools less than one-eighth of the time was devoted to physical and biological sciences. Nearly 18 percent of their time was devoted to mathematics as contrasted with approximately one-third as much given to American history and civics, economics and sociology.

Dr. Inglis in commenting on a similar situation in the high schools of Indiana says:

> The common requirement in most high schools of algebra, geometry, and a foreign language is a survival of earlier times when attendance at high school meant primarily preparation for college, and when formal education was emphasized. The modern high school designed to meet the needs of children of varying types requires more leeway. Algebra, geometry, and foreign languages should be offered, but they need not be required subjects.*

The influence of this force is especially potent in the case of the rural high school as the number of pupils is so small that any considerable range of electives is unwise. In the efforts to meet this demand and also to recognize the needs of another and constantly increasing element in the population, namely those leaving the school and immediately taking up the responsibilities of life, classes have been multiplied until in many instances they are too small for the most effective teaching. In other instances the instruction has been limited to the college preparatory subjects. Teachers are also obliged to give instruction in a wider range of subjects than their preparation warrants and to carry such heavy teaching loads that effective daily preparation is impossible. The difficulties of the situation are accentuated by the fact that a very large proportion of the teachers are relatively undertrained and comparatively inexperienced when contrasted with the teachers in urban high schools.

There is no simple panacea for this situation. There are, however, several steps which if taken would improve conditions. Of these an important one is the general acceptance of the fact that preparation for higher educational institutions is only one objective of the high school. This is very important as recent years have brought large numbers of young persons into the high schools who cannot greatly profit by some of the more formal subjects that characterize college entrance requirements. The required subjects should be determined primarily for their functional value rather than by college entrance requirements. The acceptance of this view will result in more consideration being given to the functional subjects that bear on the lives of all and a smaller range of electives with a more generous acceptance of both by higher institutions of learning.

Much could be done if there were general adoption of a unit of school administration that would make it possible

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* Public Education in Indiana.

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to coordinate the efforts of all of the high schools contained in a considerable area. This organization would make it possible to secure a degree of concentration in curricular offerings that will not obtain as long as each high school is independent and striving to offer as many courses as its neighbors. Improvement in roads and means of transportation would make it possible in many instances to combine schools, thus making possible classes large enough for more effective instruction and permitting a wider range of electives where this is desirable. This result is not likely to be secured when each high school is an independent organization.

The lack of experience on the part of rural high school teachers makes it very important that provision be made for a high type of professional supervision. Assistance of this character would more than pay for itself by indicating ways and means of improving the programs of instruction, by planning alterations of subjects and strengthening methods of instruction. This supervision could be economically effected if the efforts of a considerable number of high schools were coordinated by being included in the same administrative unit.

These considerations have to do only with changes that are necessary if the rural high school is to render the largest service to those who attend. There is a further problem of importance. It is the situation resulting from the failure of farm children to secure the advantages of secondary schooling as generally as do urban youth. Unless it is recognized and remedied it will be a potent force in lowering the character of the rural citizenship of the future.

We face no more serious educational problem than that raised by the adjustment of the rural high school to the needs of its constituency and by the necessity of bringing all rural children within the zone of influence of some high school. It affects curriculum, teaching staff, administrative organization and school support. It is suggested that its solution will offer a way to a practical interpretation of equality of educational opportunity.

GEORGE A. WORKS.

The Junior High School

IN the past decade the junior high school movement has swept the country. The reorganization of the public school system, which is involved in the movement, is commonly known as the 6-3-3 plan, i. e., grades 1-6 of the elementary school, the seventh, eighth and ninth years of the junior high school, and the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years of the senior high school. Since 1890 educators have been discussing the need for reorganization. The 6-3-3 plan is the outcome of that discussion, study, and research. It has all culminated in the following recommendation by the present Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education:

> *We recommend a reorganization of the public school system whereby the first six years shall be devoted to elementary education designed to meet the needs of pupils of approximately 6 to 12 years of age; and the second six years to secondary education designed to meet the needs of pupils of approximately 12 to 18 years of age.*

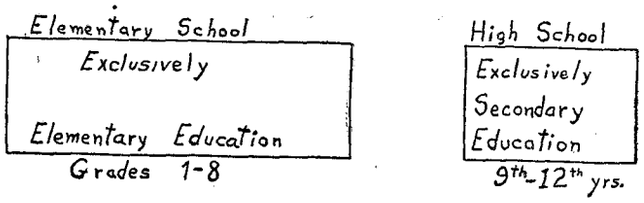
Continuing, the Commission suggested that,

> The six years to be devoted to secondary education may well be divided into two periods, which may be designated as the junior and senior periods. In the junior period emphasis should be placed upon the attempt to help the pupil to *explore his own aptitudes* and to make at least provisional choice of the kinds of work to which he will devote himself. In the senior period emphasis should be given to training in the fields thus chosen.*

These recommendations became the corner-stone in the construction of the 6-3-3 system of public schools.

The chief indictment of an elementary school of eight years and a high school of four years was the lack of articulation between the two. In the long period of twelve years of public school education it was inevitable that distinct aims should control the school at either extreme. But the distinctions were not restricted to the extremes; they grew to permeate the whole period of each unit. There was no intermediate school of transition between elementary and secondary education. The situation may be graphically represented as follows:—

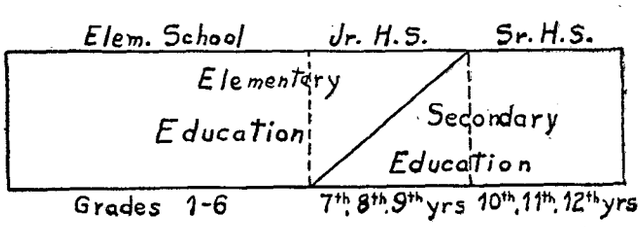
CHART 1



It had been universally conceded that there was a waste of time in an elementary school of eight years and a lack of time in a secondary school of four years. One result of an articulated school system and of a period of marking time in the upper grades of a grammar school was strikingly revealed in 1905 by two national surveys of school eliminations. It was discovered that for the country as a whole nearly 60 of every 100 pupils who completed the sixth year were lost to the public school during the seventh, eighth, and ninth years.

Some constructive plan of reorganization to remedy such wholesale educational waste was imperative. A new school unit of gradual transition between elementary and secondary education was created. It placed under a new school administration the seventh and eighth years of the former elementary school and the first year of the high school. It became the intermediate school, or as it was more generally designated, the junior high school. It readjusted the twelve years of the school system into an articulated whole which may be illustrated as below:

CHART 2



* Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education, Bulletin 35, Government Printing Office, Washington.

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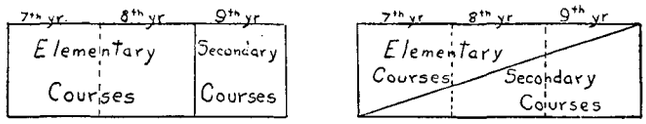
However, the junior high school is more than a mere readjustment of grades. Basicly it is a "chemical product, not a physical combination." It began over a decade ago as an administrative problem of a new combination of grades. It has become a fundamental problem of educational reconstruction. The distinction will be evident in the following diagrams:

CHART 3



The first diagram represents a readjustment of grades 7, 8, and 9 into a new school but with unaltered courses of study. This is merely a physical combination with no purpose to articulate elementary and secondary courses of study. It is not today recognized as a junior high school whose primary purpose is to become an intermediate school of gradual transition between elementary and secondary education.

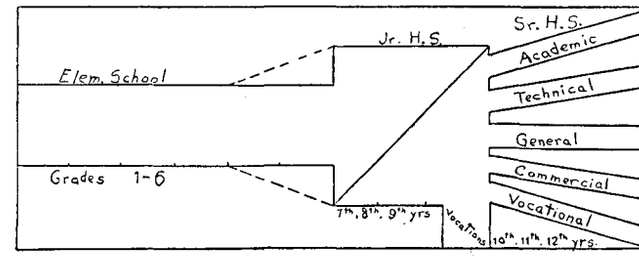
The second diagram shows a basic change in direction of the line of separation between elementary and secondary courses of study. Formerly a vertical line had been drawn to result in a wall of obstruction over which few pupils successfully vaulted. The diagonal line provides a gradual and natural transition from elementary to secondary courses of study.

One example will illustrate: in mathematics the former practice was to offer exclusive arithmetic in grades 7 and 8 and exclusive algebra in the ninth year. The change from the vertical to the diagonal line makes it possible to continue arithmetic through the three years of the junior high school and simultaneously to articulate it with intuitive or observational geometry and elementary algebra. The result is a chemical product, a new course of study for the junior high school, designated as general mathematics. This new course eliminates even the diagonal line of separation between elementary and secondary mathematics. It is a basic educational reconstruction. It has one and only one justification, which, however, wholly justifies it, i. e., it articulates elementary and secondary mathematics solely in the interests of early adolescent children who during the transitional period of the junior high school must make the shift from elementary to secondary mathematics and who can do so more readily through the articulation of arithmetic, intuitive geometry, and elementary algebra than through the former abrupt transition from exclusive arithmetic to exclusive algebra.

Similarly, other secondary courses of general science, foreign languages, commercial courses, prevocational courses in practical arts, general social science, fine arts, and technical education are introduced into the program of studies of the junior high school. This articulation of elementary and secondary courses of study is a basic educational reform. It is the distinctive characteristic of the junior high school of today. It goes to the root of the weakness of the former 8-4 plan and provides the remedy by bringing to the public school system an orderly, progressive, and natural transition from elementary to secondary education.

The relation of the functions of the three schools in the 6-3-3 plan may be seen in the following chart:

CHART 4
The 6-3-3 Plan



There is a single curriculum of common branches in the six years of the elementary school. Its function is to give the tools of education and the command of fundamentals essential to further progress either educationally or vocationally.

There is an enlarged and enriched curriculum in the three years of the junior high school. Its function is to articulate elementary and secondary courses of study; thereby, to help each early adolescent to discover his own peculiar aptitudes by a general survey of the types of differentiated educational curricula ahead of him; to reveal to him the educational possibilities for the training of his aptitudes; and to give him, through its guidance program, a vision of the opportunities in which his aptitudes when discovered and trained may find their proper and useful employment.

There are multiple or differentiated curricula in the senior high school. Their function is to furnish training for "the aptitudes, interests, and capacities"* of pupils previously revealed in the junior high school. The channels of this training are the differentiated curricula—academic, technical, general, commercial, and vocational.

The point of view of the elementary school toward its pupils is en masse to the end that all may receive a usable knowledge of the common branches and a sympathetic understanding of the social and civic structure of our democratic society.

The point of view of the senior high school is the group, to the end that the pupils of each group may receive specialized training in the curriculum they have chosen.

The point of view of the junior high school is the individual, to the end that each pupil may be selected from the mass and be placed, not blindly and capriciously, but intelligently in his proper group.

The junior high school has been variously entitled as the finding, the sorting, the trying-out, and testing period of the public school system. It is a probationary period before the vital question of educational or vocational choice is finally determined. Exploration of individual differences, the revelation of educational and vocational opportunities adaptable to individual differences, guidance of educational or vocational choice, equalization of opportunities, the adaptation of educational offerings to ascertained individual needs rather than the conforming of all pupils to one educational pattern, and the stimulation of educational or vocational vision which conditions all progress in secondary education,—all these and other purposes to adapt the educational program to the "individual" are the objectives of the junior high school.

The *nature* of junior high school administration is *gradual transition* from elementary to secondary education.

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* Thomas H. Briggs, The Junior High School, page 26, Houghton, Mifflin Company.

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This administrative principle is in full correspondence with the gradual transition of early adolescent children from childhood and pre-adolescence to the mid-adolescence of the senior high school. Herein lies the soundness of the junior high school—its perfect accord with the physiological and psychological development of early adolescents.

The *aim* of the junior high school is *individual justice.* An equal opportunity for all—not the false claim that all are equal, but that all are entitled to equal opportunity. Individual justice is a democratic and American square deal. The junior high school had its birth in America. It is the first public school unit not imported. It is dedicated to American youth. It will survive in American democracy.

The *method* of the junior high school is *guidance,* and upon its method more than upon its organization and objectives will depend its progress and fullest service. The desperate need of a program of personal, educational, and social guidance in the school system will be apparent in the following excerpt:

> The weakest work in our schools is the handling of boys entering the adolescent period of life, and there is no greater blessing that can come to a boy at this age, when he does not understand himself, than a good strong teacher that understands him, has faith in him, and will day by day lead him till he can walk alone.*

Returning to Chart IV, it follows that the junior high school program of studies should be a resultant of several forces. There are three currents which find their confluence in the junior high school. One comes from the elementary school, a second from the senior high school, and the third from vocations and society. Accordingly, the program of studies is made up, in part, of a continuation of the elementary school's single curriculum but a review, i. e., a new view, of these courses in their articulated relation to secondary courses; in part, a pre-view of secondary courses but a rearrangement of former high school courses in "their simpler aspects;" in part, a prevocational content from industry, commerce, and the home which comprise the fine and practical arts and some electives; and finally, in part also, a liberal amount of social science materials and social and civic activities of junior citizenship that early adolescents may find their self-conscious social adjustment.

It follows, also, that no upper grade organization of two or more seventh and eighth grades in a grammar school can adequately provide the educational facilities for the above enriched program of studies. A junior high school building demands new facilities for science, practical arts shops for girls and boys, fine arts rooms, commercial education, prevocational training, health education, gymnasium, library, auditorium, and facilities for a well organized social and civic program in active junior citizenship.

Most frequently the determining factor in the adoption of the 6-3-3 plan is the problem of school congestion. The building of a junior high school relieves the congestion of the elementary schools by removing their seventh and eighth grades or approximately 20 percent of the elementary school's total enrollment. Similarly relief is afforded to high school congestion by removing its ninth year or approximately 40 percent of its enrollment. Consequently building programs largely centre in junior high school construction. These programs provide the opportunity for the educational reorganization of the 6-3-3 plan. Concurrently two objectives are realized: the solution of a building problem which permits of no delay and the inauguration of a constructive and farreaching educational program.

The greatest contribution of the junior high school to American education is its mission as an agency to effect reform in the whole public school system. "It is the outward manifestation of a sound new philosophy of education." * "The junior high school is merely a symptom of expansion. It is a name for a whole series of experiments, all of which have grown out of a desire to remake the school so as to meet the requirements of an expanding educational program." †

The junior high school has been made the pivotal point of reconstruction because it has been unhampered by tradition and prejudice. Many educational desiderata which for years have struggled for concrete expression have made rapid growth in its pioneer fields. It has incorporated into its courses of study many educational tendencies to modify purely disciplinary training by the social and practical training which modern society demands. Its strategic position as the intermediate unit reacts both ways to effect curriculum readjustments in the elementary and senior high schools.

The junior high school adapts its program of studies to the needs of early adolescent children as those needs are determined by modern social conditions, not by the social and vocational standards of Europe a hundred years ago. All adolescent pupils twelve years or more of age enter the junior high school before compulsory education laws release them from school attendance. The junior high school program widens their vision of the rich educational and vocational opportunities ahead of them. It gives them a foretaste of a training which it makes plain is a prerequisite to a successful and useful citizenship. It motivates secondary school life by a foreknowledge of educational possibilities and vocational openings. It points the way to useful service by convincing each child at the threshold of adolescence that American society has a place for him, if he will but seek it and train for it.

All this the junior high school does at the most critical point of a child's school career when the first option is offered of leaving school or entering unprepared upon vocational life. It has filled the gap between elementary and secondary education through which countless numbers of immature early adolescents have been lost to the public schools and thrust upon American vocational life wholly unfitted to meet its demands.

Visit a junior high school in operation and ask its pupils if they want this new school and hear the chorus of affirmative answers. Without present full understanding they nevertheless know that the junior high school answers instinctive needs of their early adolescent lives. They will convince you that they too have the happy content, the driving ambition, the sure hope, and the earnest will to achieve, which come to all alike when the first discovery of innate natural powers is made, when the channels are first charted for the training of those powers, and when the first revelation is given of the possibilities for employing trained natural gifts in social usefulness.

Life with all its glorious future lies before each girl

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* Quoted from Stableton by G. Stanley Hall in Adolescence, Volume II, page 385. Appletons.

* Johnston, Newlon, Pickell, The Junior-Senior High School Administration, p. 151. Scribners.

† Charles H. Judd, Fundamental Educational Reforms. The Elementary School Journal, January, 1923.

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and boy entering the door of adolescence and to each there should not be denied a glimpse of his place in the life of his generation. New junior high school buildings are being erected in all sections of our country on bond issues to be liquidated twenty and thirty years hence. Junior high school children today have a right, which none can deny, to the education which tomorrow they will in part pay for and which improved and refined by their experience they in turn will pass on to the next generation.

JAMES M. GLASS.

The Junior College Movement

DURING the last two decades there have appeared on the educational scene two new institutions asking for recognition in our system of education. Singularly enough, and without apparent conjunction of intention on the part of their friends, both have been brought before the American audience bearing in the names most frequently applied to them the word "junior." This is, however, not without analogous reason, since each is designed to provide education for those who, in their stages of training, are in the vicinage of the points of beginning of the units of which they are namesakes.

Of the two institutions the junior high school has come in for much more of evaluative scrutiny. The junior college has, however, like the lower unit, grown at a rapid rate and seems no less to merit such evaluation as is possible in its present state of development. The representatives of its several types now number well over two hundred. Of these approximately two-thirds are institutions on private foundations. About twenty-five are maintained in connection with state institutions, most of them in normal schools and teachers' colleges. The remainder, perhaps fifty, are maintained by city, high school, or junior college districts, and, on account of their intimate relationships to the school systems with which they are associated, are usually referred to as public junior colleges. It is the place of the last group that is here considered. Junior colleges now enroll about 20,000 students—as many as are to be found in two or three large state universities—of whom approximately a third are attending the public units.

Perhaps the major extent of justification of any new educational institution must be found in the validity of the aspirations entertained or claims made for it. One who attempts to canvass these for the junior college is rewarded by the appearance of a wide variety. A digest attempted by the writer resulted in their falling under five main heads, viz., giving satisfactorily the first two years of curricula in liberal arts and in pre-professional and professional work, democratizing educational opportunities on the level of the first two college years, exercising conserving and socializing influences in ways impossible in larger colleges and universities, fostering the inevitable reorganization of secondary and higher education, and bringing together into a single institution all work essentially similar in order to effect better organization of courses and obviate wasteful duplication.

Extended inquiry along several lines has induced in the writer the conviction that the strong junior college will be able to qualify on the claim that it will do satisfactorily the first two years of college and university work. While the typical total offering in the new institutions does not yet compare favorably with the range of courses available to freshmen and sophomores in colleges of liberal arts, it does so with the work actually taken by any considerable proportion of such students, since this is much narrower in scope than the full range of courses listed as open to underclassmen. Moreover, a check of these junior college offerings against the work required in two preprofessional years in law, medicine, dentistry, business, education, etc., and in the first half of professional curricula usually beginning with the first college year like engineering, agriculture, and home economics, promises that a standardization of these curricula will make it possible for a proper development of junior colleges to take care of the curricular needs during two years of those who contemplate entrance upon professional careers. This conviction has the support also of the results of a comparison of junior college teachers on the one hand with those giving instruction to underclassmen in colleges and universities on the other, as to periods of graduate preparation, experience, teaching load, actual work of instruction in the classroom, remuneration, and the like. Although the instructional staff of the junior college lags behind that of other higher institutions in some of these respects, from the standpoint of the newness of the movement, its present instructional situation is prophetic of adequacy as the junior college grows to maturity. Further evidence that the junior college will be able to perform this function of giving satisfactorily the first two years of work in college and university is provided in the fact that two comparable groups of students, the one having done two years of work in junior colleges and the other in a state university, were found to have well-nigh equivalent records during the third year of attendance in higher schools.

Under the general head of the function of democratizing educational opportunities on the level of the first two college years have been placed such claims as "rounding out" in the junior college the education of students not going on, affording training for semi-professions, and popularizing higher education through lowering its cost and bringing it nearer the home of the student. These expand the scope of the new unit far beyond the first function which, if the only one accepted, would make of the junior college little more than an isthmus connecting the mainland of elementary and high school education with the peninsula of professional and advanced academic education. Certainly, the interests of those who cannot or should not go on to higher levels of training will be better cared for in institutions in which these junior college years are terminal than in those where in the nature of things they are looked upon as preliminary to and selective for higher levels and where the focus of attention is on curricula four or more years in length. From the standpoint of the right of the less capable students to complete college and university curricula four to eight years in length, the large scale elimination now characteristic of our higher institutions is not entirely without justification. It is only when it is faced by our American aspirations for democracy of educational opportunity that this elimination, with its accompanying ruthless disruptions of life

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plans, appears intolerable, especially as few, if any, of those eliminated fall below in mental calibre the midpoint of our literate white draft during the Great War. Without reorganization along junior college lines the present rising tide of popular education is certain to increase the extent of elimination and the proportion of young people taking parts of truncated curricula, e. g., loose ends of elementary foreign language and supra-arithmetical mathematics prescribed as preliminary to further education to which students forced out do not attain.

For similar reasons we cannot expect our colleges and universities to develop opportunities for education in the semi-professions, occupations the period of training for which will terminate with junior college years. Nor could students in large numbers in such higher institutions be induced to enter upon such curricula if offered, because of the loss of caste in aspiring to less than the highest available and aimed at by other students in the same institution. This would be true no matter how appropriate such training might be to the individual or how serviceable to society at large. When sufficient allowance is made for the fact that in these earlier stages of growth of the movement junior college authorities, like those in charge of the high schools of a quarter of a century ago, are endeavoring first to perform satisfactorily their isthmian function, we are warranted in characterizing the beginnings made along semi-professional lines as genuinely propitious.

The claim of popularization of these years of higher education through lower cost and nearness to the home of the student is well supported by the strikingly lessened expense of attendance in cases where students live at home; the increased proportions of the populations enrolled in the first two years of college work in communities with local higher institutions; and—most critical test of all—the actually larger proportions, as compared with other higher institutions, of those from lower economic levels who attend the public junior college.

The grounds for the faith that the junior college exercises conserving and socializing influences in ways now impossible in larger higher institutions are to be found in the younger age at which parents are willing to entrust their sons and daughters to the former because these can live at home while in attendance, in the smaller total enrollments tending to prevent the "depersonalization" of the educational process now far too characteristic of the larger schools, and the better opportunities for laboratory practice in leadership in extra-curricular activities made possible in the junior college by the absence of upper classmen who in the other higher institutions tend to monopolize the functions of leaders.

The farreaching reorganization which is disclosed by any thoroughgoing investigation of tendencies in higher education during the past century has come upon our secondary schools, colleges and universities so gradually and imperceptibly that there is little general consciousness of its profound character and of the timeliness of the advent of the junior college. To illustrate one significant fact of change, the advancing age of the college entrant, it may be said that during the half century from 1830 to 1880 the average age of Harvard freshmen increased by fully two years—the period covered by the junior college. There were comparable increases in age in other New England colleges. During three-fourths of a century the scope of admission requirements expanded from the approximate equivalent of seven or eight present-day units to twice the number, or by two years of work. This increment was largely inherited from the college curriculum in which subjects and courses experienced a steady depression to lower and lower levels. For instance, beginning algebra and geometry, prescribed for college freshmen until long past the middle of the last century, became materials of instruction in the high school; and general chemistry and physics, formerly required of college juniors and seniors, are now available, in enhanced rather than diluted form, to students of the same classification in the lower school. The downward shift is so notable as at first to seem hardly credible. What a sound basis they have who refer to the high school as the "people's college!"

Then, too, the organization of college curricula has undergone fearreaching modification in harmony with the changes already noted. Fully prescribed curricula were the rule a hundred years ago. Along in the fifties and sixties came some measure of option, which increased in proportion until toward the end of the nineteenth century, when everything was elective excepting certain courses in freshman and sophomore years. Out of this curricular chaos emerged the major system operative in junior and senior years and now all but universal in our colleges. And, whatever may be the intentions of college authorities in prescribing the major, it is usually selected by the student in terms of his occupational plans. But these are not the only concessions being made to the demand for making occupational the upper portions of collegiate training, as may be judged by the fact that almost three-fourths of the catalogues of institutions of the small college type divulge on examination one or more modifications such as preprofessional curricula two or three years in length, and strong departments offering majors or curricula in professional lines such as business administration, engineering, and home economics.

All of these changes have been accompanied during the last third of a century by a shift of enrollment that has made the institution of university and polytechnic type, from the standpoint of total registration, the dominant one; that is slowly but unmistakably making of the separate college, at least in the Middle West, as determined by the length of stay of its students, more and more a junior college, at the same time that proportionate registration in the third and fourth years in the university is increasing; and that finds a declining proportion of men in the upper years of the liberal arts unit in the university. These changes, from the advancing age of the college student to the shift of enrollment, are all of a piece—links in a single chain of evidence. All lead to the conclusion of the appropriateness of a junior college line of cleavage somewhere near the middle of the four-year college period.

The inheritance by the high school of courses formerly given only in the college leads one to expect a large amount of overlapping in the curricula. The expectation is fully corroborated by the results of careful inquiry. This duplication may be looked at in two ways. In the first of these the two institutions concerned give courses more or less identical, such as beginning modern foreign language and first courses in chemistry. The large degree of identity argues that the division between high school and college work is arbitrary and illogical, that our present boundary line between schools cuts across a field of learning essentially inseparable. In the second, there is actual repetition by the individual student in the college of what he has already covered in the high school. The extent of this repetition during the first two college years has been estimated after investigation at a sixth to a fifth of the

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student's high school work. This is a deplorable waste and arises primarily from the fact that the courses are taken in two separate institutions, the upper of which is not sufficiently cognizant of what is going forward in the lower. Avoidance of repetition and the working out of a reorganization of courses bringing with them proper sequences cannot come until all work of a similar sort is, through junior college reorganization, brought into a single unit of the educational system.

The upward extension of the American high school to include junior college years is logical and inevitable. The question is not *whether* but *how*. This question cannot be answered without consideration of the downward extension of the high school period through junior high school reorganization which is now under way and which restricts the elementary school to six years exclusive of the kindergarten. Evidence is at hand to show that almost two-thirds of American cities with populations of 100,000 and over have junior high schools in operation or in various stages of preparation. The trend of judgment begins to be opposed to an organization that follows recent practices tending to give us three secondary schools units above a six-year elementary school, the two lowest being constituted of three years each, and the third of two years. This opposition may be seen to have the support of several of the justifiable claims for the junior college as presented. The recommendation is instead for a division of the eight-year period of secondary education into two units of equal length giving us, not a 6-3-3-2, but rather a 6-4-4 organization of public education. Other advantages than those to be found in the justifiable claims for the junior college movement as given will accrue after adoption of this plan, such as the development of adequate programs of educational and vocational guidance the advent of which is at present retarded by our manner of cutting across the period of guidance—the seventh through fourteenth years of school life—at two points, and such as the attainment for many of a shortened period of high school education. Distributed as these eight years now are to three different types of educational institution, there is little hope of securing the cooperation essential to abbreviation. Conceived and administered as a unified period of secondary education, this stretch of eight school years will much more naturally suggest the need of economy, certainly for the more capable students. The 6-4-4 organization of the public school system, incorporating as it does both the junior high school and junior college ideas, will thus at once achieve for us the culmination of the great American secondary school and realize the veritable university.

LEONARD V. KOOS.

Some Foreign Schools

THE change from a bud to a leaf must seem disruptive and revolutionary to one whose attention is focussed on the shell-like outer parts of the bud. The changes going on in the secondary schools of Europe, like those going on in America, threaten to disrupt many cherished old forms—but they are natural phases of growth and development. One sees these changes now in those European schools which are most advanced in their growth, and one assumes that something of the same nature will gradually take place in all secondary schools.

The old parts of the bud and the new leafage are both very evident in the school which H. G. Wells chose as the best in England for his own sons. This is Oundle. The Oundle School is located in a quaint old Northamptonshire village, with stone pavements, stone walls, and stone houses. It is one of the old "Public Schools" of England, dating back, like Eton and Harrow, to the days when Latin was the universal language of scholarship.

Readers of Mr. Wells's recent articles in the New Republic are already somewhat familiar with this school. The shops and laboratories are splendidly equipped. And there is an intimate connection between them and life that is an example to any school. Even the classical students must spend one week out of every ten in the shops. But the other nine weeks they are getting musty, mediaeval instruction in the classics and mathematics and other academic subjects. I asked a boy whether he liked the one-week-in-ten shop work plan.

"Oh yes, sir," he answered, enthusiastically, "only we all wish it was the other way around—nine weeks in the shops and one in our classes."

The large amount of time spent on the classics, the unenlightened methods of teaching academic subjects, are simply the vestiges of the old system—remnants of the traditional English "Public School." Bursting out of them are the fresh, vigorous activities of shop and laboratory.

The laboratory work in biology is closely related to the school farm. The day we spent at the school some boys were making a microscopic study of a plant disease that had attacked the fruit trees. Two other boys were mounting a pig's skeleton. "The pig died a few weeks ago," we were told. "The boys made a post mortem examination to learn the cause of its death. They then buried it in lime so as to get the skeleton which you now see them mounting."

This informal relating of the biology to real farm problems is typical of the newer, finer part of the school. So, too, is the foundry which was built under the direction of one of the boys.

"That boy was a failure in his academic work," the chemistry instructor explained to us. "He was discouraged and had lost all interest in school. Then we found that he was interested in foundry work. We had no adequate foundry. We gave the boy the job of planning and supervising the construction of the building. It was not finished when the Christmas holidays came; so he insisted on remaining to finish his work instead of going home. When it was finally done, he went into it and worked until late in the evening to turn out the first product. He had found himself. He had found he could direct men successfully and that he could carry out a man-sized undertaking.

"When a boy fails in one field we try to find some other field in which he can succeed."

Fine, isn't it?

Oundle is not alone in the effort to bring out the best that is in each boy, nor in the effort to combine classical with manual and shop activities. This movement is char-

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acteristic of many of the progressive schools of Europe. It is particularly evident in the so-called "New Schools" in England, France, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany. These schools still cling to the classics as a basis for academic education, but balance them with a large amount of shop work and out-of-door activities. They seek to develop equally mind, body and spirit. They are all boarding schools. Let me describe briefly a typical one, that at Glarisegg, Switzerland, to which a number of American parents have sent their sons.

I defy you to find Glarisegg on the map. It is a microscopic hamlet on the borders of Lake Constance in the German part of Switzerland. The school, like most of the "New Schools," is beautifully situated on spacious grounds out in the country. Incidentally, it was the origin of Dr. Edward Rumley's experiment at La Porte, Indiana, known as the Interlaken School.

The boys of Glarisegg choose the group to which they wish to belong, each group being headed by a member of the faculty. The head of each group is personally responsible for every boy who has chosen to come under his care. The groups vary in size from half a dozen children to twenty-five or thirty, according to the popularity of the faculty head in charge. The boys feel a real affection for the head of their group and he feels an intimate, personal responsibility for his boys. One of the faculty leaders had turned his bedroom into a club room for his boys, taking a much smaller, less attractive room for himself.

I wonder whether an equally flexible grouping of children under faculty advisors in our American high schools might not avoid some of the institutionalism characteristic of high schools that grow big, and whether this same system might not help materially in the moral aspects of our high schools in America.

Shop activities in Glarisegg, as in the other "New Schools," occupy as much of the day as does academic instruction. Glarisegg has a range of some twenty-five or thirty types of manual work, including gardening, printing, photography, metal work, wood work, and book-binding. The school has self-government, the children and faculty having adopted a constitution clearly defining the relative powers and functions of both students and teachers. No student can be expelled, for example, without consultation by the faculty with a committee of five students. There is also a pupil court with the right of arbitration and discipline.

Good as these things are, and with all the excellent balance of the school day, the academic side of the school, like that of Oundle, offers nothing especially new or worth while.

To find a secondary school in which the academic studies are on a new basis, we must turn back again to England.

Two or three hours south of London, in the soft green hills between the North and South Downs, is Bedales—one of the oldest and one of the newest of the "New Schools" of Europe. It is a coeducational boarding school, in which a complete system of individual instruction is being carried out, and in which there is an even more conscious effort to give children an all round education than at Oundle and Glarisegg. Coeducation in a boarding school is rare even in America. At Bedales it is highly successful. It was, however, this feature of Bedales which so prejudiced Mr. H. G. Wells, that he never even visited the school in his search for the best school for his boys.

"Coeducation is biologically unsound," Mr. Wells told us. It was in his spacious London flat, while Mrs. Wells served us tea. "Boys develop differently from girls. Their interests differ, and they need different treatment. A boy of fifteen or sixteen may be excellent in mathematics, while the finer points of literature are entirely closed to him. A girl of the same age on the other hand is emotionally developed to the place where literature may mean much to her, but she may be eighteen or twenty before she can compete with the boy in mathematics."

But actual experience in Bedales contradicts Mr. Wells's theory. Perhaps this is because of the remarkable flexibility of the school. It is not necessary at Bedales for the boys and girls to learn mathematics at the same rate, or to read the same books in literature. Bedales provides individual instruction with probably more completeness than any other secondary school in the world.

Bedales started with the "Dalton Plan" as it originated in Dalton, Massachusetts, and then spread to England. But whereas the Dalton Plan usually gives pupils monthly assignments and makes all keep pace month by month, the slow and the fast alike, Bedales gives work-unit assignments, letting the student take as much or as little time to complete each assignment as his own ability requires. As soon as he finishes one assignment he proceeds directly to the next. *This eliminates all possibility of failure and grade repetition.* Bedales offers to us in America an improvement on the idea it borrowed from us. It has taken our raw material and has returned instead a finished product.

The methods of teaching in all subjects at Bedales reflect a thoughtfulness, an idealism, and a progressiveness that are as unusual as they are fine. The shops are nowhere nearly as elaborately equipped as at Oundle, but the balance of the child's day is better. There is shop work every day, just as there is outdoor work. Rain or shine, there is a cross country run. The school is planned to meet all needs of the individual—physical, emotional, intellectual. And the resulting spirit of the school is delightful.

What do the three schools—Oundle, Glarisegg, Bedales—suggest to us in America?

Oundle would tell us to connect our shop and laboratory work more intimately with life—with real problems—and to use them to find the special needs and abilities of each boy.

Glarisegg would urge us to go further with pupil self-government than many of us have done; to avoid institutionalism by bringing a family-like relationship between faculty members and students; and to secure a more wholesome and sane balance between our physical and manual activities on the one hand, and our intellectual work on the other.

Bedales would confirm both of these attitudes, but would also say that in the academic work of the school we can do much toward making studies more worth while and toward fitting them to the varying abilities of individual pupils.

These things cannot be done without destroying old forms. To those parents and teachers in Europe and America to whom the old forms are dear, these changes will seem disruptive. To those, however, who long for a breaking up of the wintry dreariness of formal schooling they are the first leafage of an educational springtime.

CARLETON W. WASHBURNE.

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What England Is Thinking

AMID much that is gloomy in the present position of public education in England, there are two encouraging features. The first is the attitude of the Labor movement; the second is that of the organized teachers. The Labor party in Parliament and out of it, has resisted more consistently than any other the fashionable form of imbecility which aims at "economy" by reducing the height, weight and intellectual development of working class children. Its executive was, as far as I know, the only political body to protest against a reduction in the grants of public money to universities. It worked hard to get the Act of 1918 put into operation, and has prepared elaborate schemes for the improvement and wider diffusion of secondary education, and for the better preparation of teachers for their profession. The attitude of the teachers has been not less significant. The elementary teaching profession in England has a long tradition of labor for educational reform, and, though sadly harassed by recent attacks on salary standards, it has lived up to its motto of "putting the child before the teacher." In the long run the opinion of the 160,000 teachers in the public elementary schools and of their 15,000 to 20,000 colleagues in public secondary schools is the most powerful force determining decisions on matters of educational policy. It is of some interest, therefore, to consider their criticism on the existing educational system and their proposals for reform as set out recently by the President of the National Union of Teachers, Mr. Sainsbury, at that body's annual conference.

Mr. Sainsbury had naturally much to say about the weakness of the Board of Education in yielding to the recent clamor against educational expenditure on the part of the business interests. But the really significant thing in his address was his endorsement of a demand for the unification of elementary and secondary education which has long been advanced by organized labor in England, and which is likely to be one of the leading motifs in the educational controversies of the next ten or fifteen years. "The present divisions into elementary and secondary are entirely unsatisfactory. . . . Our present system is antiquated . . . its decrepitude and weakness . . . as well as its unsuitability to present needs, should be obvious to all. Reclassification is an urgent necessity. . . . Elementary education should be regarded as a preparatory stage only . . . to be followed by education to be classed as secondary, and this should be available for all children who have gone through the preparatory stage. . . . Unless the old distinctions are swept away and a system arranged whereby elementary education shall lead to secondary, the necessary progress remains almost an impossibility."

The citizens of countries whose educational history has been different from that of England may see nothing surprising in such a declaration. Is it not a commonplace that the educational process, like the process of growth in a child, should be continuous and should be envisaged as a whole? Is it not obvious that if these hackneyed phrases "elementary education" and "secondary education" are to be used at all, the latter is the education of the adolescent, and the former education preparatory thereto? It is—or it ought to be. But alas! historical developments do not move with the sweet lucidity of the pure idea. In England, more perhaps than in any other country, public education is a stream which has wound a devious route amid the mountains and marshes of a social system which dammed its current and diverted its course. In no country was the social material out of which the educationalist had to carve his system more irregular, more stubborn and opaque. Of the four main elements which have left their mark upon it—religion, class organization, economic pressure and the thought of educationalists and teachers, the last has hitherto been incomparably the weakest. It is a combination of institutions and efforts which have grown from different roots, correspond to different stages of social development and types of social structure, and express radically different ideas. Historically elementary education had its origin in an attempt prompted partly by religious zeal, partly by a humanitarian philanthropy, partly by social apprehension, to establish a redemptive discipline for the "lower orders," and the tradition of elementary education as a kind of intellectual poor relief clung to it even into the latter part of the nineteenth century. The peculiar stratification of English society decided, in short, that in England, unlike America, Switzerland, Denmark, some British Dominions and, at least till recently, Scotland and Wales, the primary school should not be the common school leading naturally to the secondary school at adolescence, but that elementary education, instead of being one stage of education, should be a special system of education designed for a special class (incidentally the great majority of the community) who were described in official language, even down to the seventies of last century, as "the laboring poor."

All this is today, of course, a thing of the past. But it has left us the problem described so trenchantly by Mr. Sainsbury, and explored, in a recent report on secondary education, by the Education Advisory Committee of the Labor party. For it means that, till recently, primary and secondary education have never been envisaged as a whole. Every year, indeed, until the recent lamentable reaction, the lines between them were becoming closer. Public secondary education hardly existed before the Education Act of 1902. Between that date and 1920, thanks to the enterprise of public-spirited education authorities, and also, it is fair to add, to an enlightened policy on the part of the Board of Education, it grew rapidly. Schools were multiplied. From 1907 onwards every secondary school in receipt of grants from the state has been compelled to provide twenty-five percent of free places for entrants from the elementary schools. Local authorities developed scholarships and maintenance allowances. There was going on, in fact, a genuine revolution in the world of higher education. Nevertheless the fact remains that the supply of secondary education in England is still far short of the demand for it, and that the gulf between the primary and secondary school has only to a very slight extent been bridged. The situation, as set out in the report of a select committee which investigated the subject three years ago, is very serious. In the year 1919-20 actually 9,271 children were excluded from secondary schools in England because there was no accommodation of any kind for them, and a further 8,780 were excluded, because, though they reached the standard demanded, there were not sufficient "free places" to make it possible for them to be taken in. What percentage exactly of children leaving the elementary school passes to secondary schools is not quite certain. But it is something over five percent

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and under nine percent as compared with about thirty percent in parts of America. The results of such a state of things is deplorable. An immense amount of talent is wasted because it receives no further education after fourteen. Some considerable part of the energy and money spent on elementary education is sterilized, because that education ends abruptly at the most critical period of a child's life. The secondary schools are deprived of promising pupils, and the elementary schools are engaged in giving to some of the children, for too short a period, what is really secondary education. The indirect effects are probably not less disastrous. The greater the variety of type within an educational system, the better: the last thing to be desired is standardization. But the worst possible basis of differentiation is that supplied by differences of social "class" and of income. The words of Mr. Sainsbury are not too strong: "Such conditions have developed a system of class distinction which has kept the different classes apart. Though purely artificial in character, this division is a blight upon our natural life, and in the interests of the whole community should be broken down, so that all may learn the great practical lessons of Citizenship."

For the next year or two educationalists will be fully occupied in resisting further reaction—the Board of Education has already taken the monstrous step of turning the twenty-five percent of free places which a grant-aided secondary school must provide from a *minimum* into a *maximum*—and there are some who think it useless to discuss these larger programs. They are wrong. Now is the very time to discuss them. The curse of English educational policy is that it has lived from hand to mouth, instead of taking a long view of the kind of structure which it is desired to create. If we are to avoid a repetition of the blunders of the past, we must give up our traditional plan —the fallacy of that most impractical of visionaries, the "practical man"—of piece-meal readjustments made on the spur of particular emergencies or in response to sporadic demands, and must survey the ground as a whole and ask ourselves what kind of edifice we desire to create upon it. When we do that, we shall build, of course, with existing materials. But we shall plan, instead of fumble. And I, at least, cannot doubt that what we shall plan will be something on the lines of the reclassified system demanded by Mr. Sainsbury—preparatory education for all up to eleven, secondary education, in schools of different types, for all from eleven to sixteen. We shall get rid of the absurd idea that "elementary" education is a particular *kind* of education, and we shall abandon the equally absurd idea that education is not "secondary" unless its curriculum is modelled on that at present demanded by the Board—a curriculum excellent in itself and allowing a wide and wise latitude, but requiring to be broadened still further if secondary education is to be adapted to the needs of the great majority of children. We shall abolish fees, enormously expand our system of maintenance allowances, and get rid of the curious anomaly—in itself an illuminating comment on our educational history—by which there are two separate codes of regulations for elementary and secondary schools, actually prescribing a different standard as regards such matters as floor and air space and playing grounds for the two, as though an elementary school child had smaller lungs and fewer legs than his brother in a secondary school!

Mere organization and machinery? Of course they are. When these obvious things have been done, it may be possible to begin to discuss the real problems of education. But perhaps we shall discuss them in a different way. When we have cleared away some of the artificial obstacles which hamper the growth of the rising generation, we shall at any rate be in a better position to learn what it has to teach us. And perhaps, after all, the most important question is not what we can do for the education of children in order to insure that they will fit smoothly into our social arrangements, but what children who have grown up under more tolerable conditions are likely to do with us.

R. H. TAWNEY.

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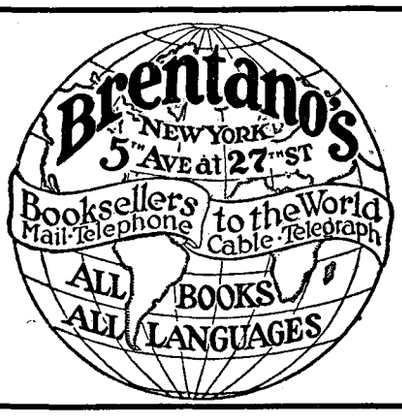

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